

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1987

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EAST EUROPE REPORT

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

TU CONGRESS REPORT CRITICAL OF TRADE UNION, ECONOMY PRACTICES

Prague PRACE in Czech 27 Feb 82 supplement pp 1-21

[Report of the Czech Trade Union Council read by Comrade Vaclav Bezel at the Czech ROH [Revolutionary Trade Union Movement] Congress: "On Activities and Future Tasks of Revolutionary Trade Union Movement in the CSR"]

[Text] Our congress convenes a short time after we recalled once again the historic February victory which paved the way to building socialism in our fatherland. We are proud that in the struggle with reaction, in building the socialist society and now in the implementation of policy formulated by the 16th CPCZ Congress our unified trade unions lent solid and reliable support to the party.

With deep respect and gratitude we recall those comrades who unswervingly, with self-sacrifice and enthusiasm were building socialism in our fatherland and particularly our unforgettable Comrade Klement Gottwald and his close collaborator -- Comrade Antonin Zapotocky.

We give our wholehearted support to Comrade Gustav Husak who said at the 16th CPCZ Congress: "To protect the legacy of revolutionaries and builders of socialism, to augment it by honest work is the highest duty of us and those who succeed us."

This obligates us, in the spirit of the legacy of the Victorious February, in the spirit of the traditions of revolutionary trade unions and their unity and closely rallied around the CPCZ, to evaluate the results of our work and, on the basis of our past experiences, to do much more with revolutionary zeal for the implementation of the line laid down by the 16th CPCZ Congress.

Every working man in our country clearly realizes the close connection between the building of socialism and a happy life, and the strengthening of world peace. Like all other peace-loving people in the world, we are fully aware of the fact that to counteract the forces of war, threats by the United States of America and the North Atlantic Pact, positioning of medium-range missiles and neutron bombs in Western Europe, it is necessary to fight for and more vigorously support the peace proposals of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

We are fully aware that the guarantee of further successful building of the developed socialist society, of thwarting the threat of war and consolidating peace lies only in rallying around the Soviet Union and the other socialist states.

The aggressive policy of the imperialist countries was also denounced by the 10th World Trade Union Congress in Havana which took place recently. The congress became a big manifestation of progressive trade unionists from all continents for permanent peace and progress in the world. We are pleased to note that it highly appreciated the international consciousness of our trade unionists in rendering moral and material support to the developing countries and to the working class in the capitalist countries in their struggle for independence, basic human rights and a more just social system.

Increasing Authority of ROH

Our congress concludes a period of many trade union conferences -- from annual membership meetings of trade union sections to the national trade union conferences in the CSR. With reference to these deliberations, to the views of millions of trade unionists, we can now review our contribution to the implementation of resolutions of the Ninth All-Trade Union Congress and Czech ROH congress in 1977, discuss and undertake tasks which correspond to the demanding political, economic and social goals of development of our socialist society in the interest of the working class and all working people.

The results of discussions at the annual membership meetings and conferences of trade union organizations and organs, secret elections, views, comments and proposals by members or elected delegates at these highest trade union meetings reflected the profound democratic nature of our trade union organization. They were the reaffirmation of our members' trust in the CPCZ policy and confirmed the increasing authority, capacity for action and strength of our ROH.

The ROH activity and the results which we achieved in the CSR during the last 5 years are evidence of gradual, but consistent observance of permanent values and principles of socialist trade unions and particularly of their double role in building the developed socialist society.

Our activity was marked by the effort to achieve the best possible results in the implementation of the resolutions of the 15th CPCZ Congress. We attained many successes. We succeeded in discharging our trade union functions more evenly, in increasing our influence over the economy and the satisfaction of the material and social needs of the working class and other working people. The trade unions are in fact becoming a school of economic and financial management and administration -- a school of socialism.

Encouraging Constructive Initiative

Despite a number of positive results which we achieved in trade union work in the CSR, it is necessary to improve and expand our work, and to choose more efficient work methods. We must get rid of formalism, and conscientiously and responsibly fulfill the tasks assigned to the ROH in the CSR by the 16th CPCZ Congress.

The convening, deliberations and resolutions of the 16th CPCZ Congress and the 60th anniversary of its foundation stimulated constructive initiative. Almost 85 percent of all workers participated in socialist competition. The brigades of socialist labor (BSP) in particular set the example. This enormous growth of socialist competition is a convincing proof of the determination of workers to overcome the existing difficulties, of their dauntless will to implement the congress resolutions. This represents a solid guarantee of conscious support of CPCZ policy in the future.

Its will -- to continue building the developed socialist society -- was also expressed by the Czechoslovak people in the elections to the legislative bodies and national committees.

Likewise the convening of the 10th All-Trade Union Congress brought about an upsurge in trade union work and workers' creative initiative.

Overall Increase in Trade Union Activity

A key prerequisite for various activities of trade unions is the consistent implementation of the policy of the working class and its vanguard -- the CPCZ. If the last period is characterized by increased activity of trade union organs and basic organizations in all areas of trade union work and social life, if we succeeded essentially in implementing the resolutions of the Ninth All-Trade Union Congress, it was due to the fact that the ROH correctly applied the leading role of the CPCZ, that the Central Committee, organs and organizations of the CPCZ paid constant attention to trade union work.

From this place we want to express our thanks to the CPCZ for its systematic assistance and support.

At the same time, we thank all ROH officials and members who actively contributed to the overall increase in trade union work in the CSR. The importance which the party attaches to the trade unions in the political, economic, social and cultural development of the socialist society, in overall care for man, in safeguarding the interests and protection of workers' rights, obligates us to concentrate the forces of the trade union movement in the CSR on the implementation of "Main Directions of Economic and Social Development of the CSSR during the 1981-1985 Period."

Worker Participation in Management to Be Increased

The manysided work of trade unions was and will also in the future be based on the experience that economic policy and its results are of fundamental, key importance for the further development of the socialist society.

For this reason, the ROH in the CSR organized worker participation in economic development, implementation and surpassing of national economic plans and thus also in the production of resources designed to satisfy the increasingly demanding and diversified material and spiritual needs of our people. We proceeded from the principle that the maintenance and increase in the living standard depends not on subjective wishes, but on the production of values, and

that no society can distribute more than it produces. We were guided by the old and time-tested truth that "our future living standard will depend on how we work today."

Although, despite more complex conditions, social production of the national economy increased during the last period, all plan targets, particularly in regard to some qualitative indicators, were not met. The planned tasks could have been fulfilled much better in individual years of the five-year plan if management at individual levels had been more efficient and created conditions for greater participation of workers in management and for stimulation of their initiative, and if the work of trade union organs and organizations had been more thorough and more emphatic. As trade unionists, we share the responsibility for the existing shortcomings not only by tolerating them or trying to explain them away, but also and primarily by not eliminating them with the help of all workers.

We have not succeeded in putting an end to the incorrect practice of drawing up the drafts of plans without the participation of workers in the workshops, departments and plants. In most instances the work collectives become acquainted with the drafts only after they had been processed.

To change this practice, we must more consistently and uncompromisingly insist that management present the draft plans to the work collectives and individuals so that by using the method of counterplanning higher targets may be set and potential reserves revealed.

We cannot get reconciled to the fact that the number of ROH factory committees which express their own opinions on the draft plan has declined since 1979. Only 40.1 percent of factory committees expressed their opinion in 1980. Moreover, the attitudes of trade union organs are not based on the workers' views and therefore insufficiently respond to the problems in plants and enterprises, to the troubles and needs of the working class and other working people.

In formulation of the final position, it is necessary to take into account the workers' comments and views and, after the economic plan is approved, to ask for its consistent detailing and determination of main directions of initiative so that every worker and every collective knows its concrete tasks in order to be able actively to participate in their implementation. The participation of workers in the implementation of the plan, in the half yearly and yearly checks on its fulfillment in the enterprises and plants must be closely combined with the evaluation of results in work and creative initiative, and fulfillment of obligations listed in the collective agreements.

Production Conferences

Production conferences in the workshops represent one of the irreplaceable forms of worker participation in management. These production conferences averaged 8.5 per trade union section in the CSR in 1980 and were attended by 33 million workers. The ratio of implemented proposals increased from 74.2 percent in 1976 to 82 percent in 1980.

Despite this favorable development, many production conferences are of information nature only, their importance is frequently underestimated and insufficient attention is paid to their preparation, agenda and implementation of resolutions, particularly by the economic workers.

These shortcomings can no longer be overlooked by the trade union organizations, which should consistently refer to the document published jointly by the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee, the CSSR Government and Central Trade Union Council (URO) in 1974.

The production conferences should be organized purposefully according to a plan, and their agenda should include the questions which are related to the implementation of the plan and checks on its fulfillment, economy and quality of production, checks on the fulfillment of socialist pledges, labor safety, observance and strengthening of work and technological discipline and other problems arising in the everyday life of workshops.

Collective Agreements Are More Specific

Together with the preparation of the economic plan it is also necessary to prepare the draft of collective agreements reflecting our double role -- in the implementation of the economic plan and in creating conditions for comprehensive care for workers.

We appreciate the fact that following the Seventh URO Plenum in 1979, these documents binding the workers and economic management alike were worked out in more detail. They are more concrete, more specific, and the checks on their implementation and evaluation of their observance are carried out more consistently.

Nevertheless, only 55 percent of our basic organizations signed collective agreements in 1980 and their contents can be still further improved. There still persists a conciliatory and tolerant attitude toward penalties for non-observance of obligations, particularly in regard to care for workers.

Only by consistent application of the principles approved by the CSSR Government and URO in regard to the content, signing and control of collective agreements during the Seventh Five-Year Plan can they be made more effective and significantly contribute to closer cooperation between the economic and trade union organs, to the greater participation of workers in production management, to the development of initiative in new economic conditions and satisfaction of the social needs of workers.

Application of Set of Measures

The trade union organs and organizations actively participated in the verification of the "Comprehensive Experiment in Efficiency and Quality Control" in selected economic production units [VHS] of industry and construction in the CSR. On the basis of these experiences we gave our full support to the "Set of Measures for Improving the Planned Management System of the National Economy After 1980." We participated in the formulation of individual provisions

and instructions affecting the workers' interests. The principles were presented to the trade union activists and most of the workers.

The experiences gained during one and a half years, however, make it clear that the application of the "Set of Measures" will not be easy and will require an improvement in our organizational work and political education. We must press management personnel more emphatically than in the past to draw up draft plans by means of the method of counterplanning and for more effective renewal, distribution and utilization of manpower. The volume of wage funds must be made dependent on the labor-productivity increase. Khozraschet, moral and financial incentives and economic tools should be used for increasing efficiency and quality of production. Worker participation in management and worker initiative should be encouraged and promoted.

Brigades of Socialist Labor

Without the admirable effort and self-sacrificing work of the overwhelming majority of workers who often with difficulties had to overcome the obstacles to the fulfillment of tasks and pledges, the results reviewed by the 16th CPCZ Congress could not have been achieved. For this reason, everyday effort to increase initiative and socialist competition among the workers will be among our foremost tasks in the future, too.

Approximately 86 percent of all workers participate in various forms of competition today. Many combined, tens of thousands of collective and literally millions of individual pledges were made and most of them are honestly honored.

There were a number of exemplary initiatives primarily by the BSP, which headed the initiative in connection with all important anniversaries and political events. Among these workers collectives we may mention the BSP from the Fuel Combine of 25 February Vresova, FEZKO Strakonice and CKD [Ceskomoravska Kolben Danek] Blansko.

The BSP headed the effort not only to surpass the production plan targets, but above all to reduce production costs, achieve higher efficiency in the national economy and to increase quality and technical standards of products.

In all krajs and trade union federations there was an increase in the number of bearers of honorary titles -- of bronze, silver and golden badges to whom we pay homage from this place.

Much more attention must be paid, however, to their grouping under the slogan: "To increase production, economy and quality with combined BSP forces." We must make better use of experiences in North Moravia Kraj, where this initiative is widespread and was pioneered by Comrade Ogrocki from the Trinec Iron Works and Comrade Kral from Sigma Hranice.

On the basis of long-time experiences, the CSSR Government and URO approved new principles for the development and evaluation of the BSP movement. These principles were welcomed particularly by the ROK basic organizations because they simplify paper work and increase their jurisdiction. They enhance the

responsibility of the BSP, but primarily of trade union and economic organs for directing and evaluating BSP activities. These principles must be consistently observed and enforced in practice.

Emphasis on Principal Tasks

Despite a number of problems and shortcomings during the Sixth Five-Year Plan and especially after the Seventh URO Plenum in October 1979, we succeeded, on a larger scale than in the past, in directing worker initiative to the reduction of material consumption, conservation of raw materials, fuels and energy which contributed to the reduction of production costs.

As emphasized by the fourth and fifth plenums of the CPCZ Central Committee in 1981, this effort still is not commensurate to our potential and needs. It is necessary to draw conclusions from these plenums for our work. The trade union organs and organizations must more actively participate in the introduction of *khovraschat* and order in material standards because without these tools of management we would not make any progress, and persuasion and education of workers would not be specific and effective.

Initiative is not becoming everywhere an effective tool for plan fulfillment, a tool for achieving higher efficiency and quality, and intensification of social production. There are plants which do not meet the plan targets, although they report a high percentage of workers participating in competition. The reason this is so is that many economic workers do not regard the development of initiative and its orientation to the key tasks of the plan as part of management.

Socialist competition and socialist pledges lag behind in design organizations, engineering, technological and other preproduction departments. That is, precisely in those departments which are of key importance to production efficiency and quality. Only 6,320 collective and 29,334 individual creative plans were signed in the CSR in 1980. The overall effect of their implementation amounted to approximately Kcs 2.2 billion in the CSR. We hope that our technical intelligentsia will achieve much more and its contribution will be much bigger in the future, if the Czech committees of trade union federations and kraj trade union councils will pay more attention to it.

Billions of Kcs from Scientific and Technological Achievements

The 16th CPCZ Congress again emphasized that the application of scientific and technological achievements was indeed the revolutionary task of the entire society. The trade unions must, therefore, direct worker initiative much more specifically to the practical application of scientific and technological achievements.

During the Sixth Five-Year Plan, inventors and innovators submitted more than 1 million proposals, 628,000 of which were accepted and 554,000 used. The social benefit is estimated at Kcs 28 billion. This was largely made possible by the "Program of Implementation of Inventions and Innovators' Proposals" which were processed for the first time during the Sixth Five-Year Plan. The

standard of these programs, however, varies considerably and the share of trade union organizations in their preparation and implementation is rather small in a number of enterprises. We must appreciate particularly the program of VZKG [Klement Gottwald Iron Works in Vitkovice], Svib Gottwaldov, Sokolov Chemical Plants, Skolunion Teplice, Eliten Veti nad Orlici and many others.

The development of this time-tested initiative of workers requires, however, that the programs of implementation of inventions and innovators' proposals be systematically carried out during the Seventh Five-Year Plan in order to increase society's benefit, resulting from the application of new engineering designs, to at least Kcs 34 billion. This is a demanding, but realistic task particularly if we succeed in overcoming technical conservatism and professional envy and see to it that every invention and innovators' proposal is utilized without delay.

To accomplish this goal it is necessary to broaden cooperation with the Czechoslovak Scientific and Technological Society, make better use of past experiences in the organization of various competitions, publicize the balances on the socialist accounts of inventors and innovators as well as pioneering actions and pledges of members of 100,000 groups, competitions in individual sectors and branches in conservation of raw and industrial materials, quality of products, occupational protection and labor safety.

Combining the Forces of Collectives

The needs of technological and scientific progress make it imperative to solidify cooperation between blue-collar workers, technicians and scientific workers -- to combine their forces in comprehensive rationalization brigades.

Although we registered an increase in their number during the last period, their average number per BOH basic organization was only 3.3, and 77.9 percent of our basic organizations did not establish comprehensive rationalization brigades. We, therefore, appeal to trade union federations and management personnel to more purposefully combine the forces, experiences and knowhow of prominent blue-collar workers, technical and scientific intelligentsia, to concentrate them on the key tasks of technological development, quality and economy, to evaluate their work periodically and to remunerate them according to the results achieved.

The trade union organs and organizations focused on promoting creative initiative of scientific-technical workers in order to make scientific research more efficient and to help shorten the research and implementation cycle: "science--technology--production--utilization." Good results were achieved by GDR in Prague.

The great reserves are clear from the fact that only 17-20 percent of organizations participated in the competition for the banner of the CSR minister of construction and technology and Czech Trade Union Council, which was designed to express appreciation of the best research and development organizations in the CSR. Many more research and development organizations from the sectors

supervised by the CSR Government must participate, with the effective support by the appropriate Czech committees of trade union federations, in the new competition for the Red Banner.

The development of worker initiative has been directed also to the area of capital investment in recent years. We focused attention on key construction projects, particularly in the area of nuclear power plants, and the fuel-energy basis especially in North Bohemia Kraj. In this connection we also paid attention to the trade union councils on these projects.

The honoring of combined socialist pledges helped put a number of production capacities into operation on schedule. Those pledges became formal, however, where the investors and general contractors did not create necessary conditions because they failed to submit designs on time, sign supplier-customer contracts and develop a mandatory work schedule.

It appears correct that in the future our share of responsibility for the development of initiative on selected construction projects should be borne by the trade union associations according to the investor's domicile.

Furthermore, it is desirable to make use of experiences from the cooperation of Czech committees of trade union associations in mining and power engineering, metal industry and construction sectors on capital investment projects in the North Bohemian brown coal district and construction of the Dukovany nuclear power plant, and also to apply them to other key projects with the participation of all interested trade union associations.

The work of trade union councils on construction projects must be further improved and effort unified in organizing and evaluating combined socialist pledges, in improving social, health and cultural conditions for builders of these projects. Okres and kraj trade union councils must bear increased responsibility for their activities, assist them in specific instances and review their experiences.

Advance Knowledge of Tasks and Remuneration Essential

Effective economic incentives play an important role in overall support of the intensive development of our national economy.

We directed our activity to the gradual introduction of work- and wage-system rationalization and to the implementation of "Programs of Wage Development, Incentives and Wage Differentiation." Despite some partial successes, however, we did not succeed during the last period to effect a substantial qualitative change in observance of the socialist principle of remuneration according to work performed, which was criticized by trade unionists at the annual membership meetings and conferences.

Nor did we not succeed in altering the wage forms in such a way as to make wage increases be in harmony with labor-productivity growth, to stimulate workers to achieve the best possible quality, the greatest possible conservation of fuels, energy motor fuel, raw and industrial materials, and to reduce other costs as the "Set of Measures" calls for.

The resolution of the URO presidium of January 1981 on increasing trade union responsibility for making wages more effective is being translated into practice slowly, insufficiently and many ROH basic organizations have not even received it yet.

Therefore, we ask the trade union organs to fully commit themselves to the consistent implementation of programs for increasing economic effectiveness of wage systems, to work for the application of intraenterprise khozraschet so that people know their specific tasks and also how they will be remunerated.

They must patiently explain to workers the harmfulness of wage equalization, press for differentiated remuneration according to the results actually achieved and support the active and responsible attitude of state and economic organs toward the application of the merit principle in wage practice.

A joint task of trade union and all-trade union organs, but above all of basic organizations will be not only to categorically demand that management personnel create conditions for continuous and effective work, but also to explain to the workers systematically and patiently the importance of conscious work discipline and honest work for society's benefit, to pillory loafers and dishonest workers, to support those economic workers who see to it that the workers can work efficiently and are rewarded according to their merits.

Attacking Problems More Vigorously

The implementation of resolutions of the 16th CPCZ Congress on "Main Directions of Economic and Social Development of the CSSR during the 1981-1985 Period" and of the tasks resulting from the fourth and fifth plenums of the CPCZ Central Committee, which discussed topical problems of the development of our society, the plan of economic and social development in 1982 and the law on the Seventh Five-Year Plan, require the more active participation of workers in all forms and at all levels of management, and primarily in drawing up, detailing and implementing the economic plan.

In this context, I want to refer to the statement by Comrade Husak at the 16th CPCZ Congress: "We do not plan for the plan's sake, we do not organize production for production's sake, but everything we do, all our effort to build socialism, to make our fatherland flourish, aims at benefiting workers. The happiness of man is and will remain the highest goal of our effort."

The tasks of trade unions in creating conditions for increased participation of workers and development of their initiative were set by the Seventh URO Plenum in 1979. Its resolutions were taken as the basis for our actions in the CSR and gradually implemented. Their topicality is further underlined in the present period.

The demanding nature and complexity of tasks in the development of the national economy require that we utilize all raw and industrial materials more effectively, that we conserve crude oil, fuels and electric energy and increase the efficiency and quality of all work.

Worker initiative must be directed to cutting down consumption of fuels and energy by a minimum of 2 percent and of metals by 4.5-5 percent per year, and to more efficient utilization of metal scrap and other secondary raw materials during the entire 1981-1985 period. In addition, the emphasis is on economical use of grain fodder and a gradual increase in the intensity of agricultural production.

With socialist pledges, we must help improve services and achieve smooth satisfaction of domestic market needs in the required quality and necessary assortment. We should also help fill export orders on time.

The effective development of the national economy calls for an increased share of Czech committees of trade union associations in the development of individual sectors, which must be increasingly reflected in the joint specific actions undertaken in cooperation with the ministries involved. Territorial all-trade union organs also must increase their share in the effective results of sectors managed by the national committees.

We appreciate the effort of those collectives and plants which realized the goals of present economic policy and in honor of the 10th All-Trade Union Congress signed their valuable socialist pledges and are gradually implementing them.

Overall Care for Workers

The economic development during the Sixth Five-Year Plan became the basis for the implementation of the social programs formulated by the 15th CPCZ Congress. Despite the existing problems and difficulties, much work was done in overall care for workers during the last period. The working environment was improved particularly by the implementation of "Comprehensive Worker Care Programs" which were incorporated in the annual collective agreements.

The results of our social policy must be regarded as satisfactory in view of the fact that they were achieved during a period in which the capitalist world is plagued by worldwide economic depression, inflation and unemployment.

We paid main attention to the improvement of the working environment and prevention of accidents. The annual checks on labor safety, the wider application of the Basov method and the gradual introduction of three-stage controls significantly contributed to the reduction of accidents by almost 20 percent. The Basov method is being employed on an ever-increasing scale which is evidenced by the fact for example that 14,000 collectives with 158,000 workers in construction and production of building materials use this method.

There was a decrease in the number of women exempted from handling loads exceeding the specified limits.

Despite these successes, however, there still exist hazardous workplaces, occupational diseases increased in mining, agriculture, the chemical industry and the health sector, and major injuries occurred.

Attention to labor safety and protection of health at work will continue to be the basis of our trade union social policy in workplaces.

We will ask the trade union organs to exert, in cooperation with the state technical inspectorate, more effective social control through trade union organizations over the observance of labor safety in hazardous workplaces, sources of occupational diseases, and to draw necessary conclusions from discovered shortcomings.

They must insist on creating a safe working environment at the design stage of new plants and equipment and in reconstruction of existing plants, pay constant attention to creating an unobjectionable working environment, particularly by the more consistent elimination of exemptions for women handling excessive loads.

They must actively help economic organs to organize annual public checks on labor safety, demand the application of the three-stage control system, and more actively participate in training of workers in safe work harmless to health and employ the time-tested Basov method on an increasing scale for this purpose.

Systematic Health Protection

A serious and constantly criticized problem in the past is the permanent shortage of good-quality devices for personal protection, their manufacture, distribution, allocation and maintenance.

In accordance with the request of the Czech Trade Union Council, the CSR Government adopted a measure which provides for the inclusion of 15 types of key personal protective devices now in short supply in the mandatory tasks of the state plan.

In cooperation with the appropriate trade union organs, the Czech Trade Union Council will, through the development of worker initiative, assist in the manufacture and systematically control the implementation of the above government measure.

We ask our factory committees, however, to consistently check on how the economic organs create conditions for maintenance and repair of damaged protective devices, what records are kept and how the available devices are allocated.

As to health care for the workers, the trade union organs participated in improving health care provided by the industrial plants and in its gradual extension. We succeeded in constructing some new factory, combined or public health care centers which provide medical care to 62 percent of all workers at the present time, and long-range plans anticipate its further expansion. The workers, however, justly criticize the shortage of factory physicians, particularly in big industrial complexes.

Health Insurance and Social Security

It will be 30 years this year since, on the basis of the resolution of the Ninth CPCZ Congress, health insurance was transferred to the industrial plants and the POH entrusted with the administration of health insurance funds. An important role in this area is performed by the national insurance commissions in the plants together with the okres and kraj administrations of health insurance.

The scope of jurisdiction and responsibility is clear from the expenditures on health insurance benefits which increased almost 19 percent since the last congress and amounted to almost Kcs 15 billion in the CSR annually. At the same time, there was an increase in the allowances for children which amounted to Kcs 7.73 billion in 1981.

The participation of trade union organs in the administration and control of social security benefits intensified too. The preliminary procedure for claiming retirement benefits gradually improved, on an experimental basis some plants organized informative meetings for prospective beneficiaries ahead of their retirement, and care for partly disabled workers improved. Some progress was made also in trade union care for pensioners and the elderly.

As to workers health care in the future, we will ask the all-trade union organs to study, in closer cooperation with health-care organs and economic management, the varying degrees of disability and to try to eliminate its causes. With the jointly sponsored measures, they should heed and answer critical comments on inadequate prevention, long waiting periods for surgery, the insufficient number of factory physicians and selection of participants for medical treatment in spas regardless of their class origin and merits.

This effort will be facilitated by the periodical conferences of the Czech Trade Union Council with the ministries of health, labor and social affairs which solve these problems comprehensively with reference to specific problems in individual sectors and areas.

Food to All Workers

We paid necessary attention to providing food to factory workers during the last period. The target set by the Czech congress to provide food to 37 percent of workers was surpassed by 350,000, the coverage amounting to 45 percent. In close cooperation with the CSR Government, conditions are being created for a gradual transition to the centralized, rational development of factory cafeterias. Examples were set by the Military Construction Projects Prague in preparation of frozen food and Kutna Hora in centralization of factory catering for the entire okres.

On the basis of comments by workers, the supply situation was checked and some problems and shortcomings were found in 409 factory kitchens.

Upon our suggestion, first the CSR Government and then the presidium of the federal government approved specific measures to remedy the present situation.

They provide in particular for allocation of the available meat supply by the okres national committees in close cooperation with the okres trade union councils, and for dealing with the problems arising in connection with food items in short supply.

In the development of factory and office cafeterias, we shall proceed from the positive experiences in the past and ask the state and economic organs and national committees for more effective assistance in their improvement. In the first place, this will involve the mobilization of reserves in the capacities of kitchens and dining rooms in individual plants and restaurants, the combination of forces and merger of funds for centralized production and distribution and delivery of food to lunch alcoves in workplaces, the application of the territorial system of management in expanding meal-serving capacities, providing meals to the second and third shift, and coping with shortages in food supply to factory kitchens.

Increased Possibilities of Recreation

Recreation care is an important area of our work. Recreation organized by plants and enterprises constitutes the largest basis for recreation of workers and their family members. The capacity in the CSR exceeds 180,000 beds and is much larger than the capacity of selective recreation provided by the ROH. Although there are still problems with the utilization of this capacity during the off-season period, recreation facilities were expanded and their standard increased recently.

The guidelines approved by the URO are gradually being implemented in selective recreation organized by the ROH, more attention is being paid to the selection of participants according to their merits and recreation for families with children is being provided on an increasing scale.

In distribution of vouchers for selective recreation, the Czech Trade Union Council gives priority, due to the more polluted environment, to workers from North Bohemia and North Moravia krajs and from the area of the capital of Prague. Most of the kraj trade union councils likewise make use of the possibility of giving preference to selected okreses, plants or sectors. A permanent problem of selective recreation is the lack of vacancies for families with children during the summer season.

We have achieved good results in the development of ROH camps for pioneers. Our goal -- to provide recreation to 330,000 children prior to the 10th All-Trade Union Congress -- was not only met, but even slightly surpassed: we provided recreation to 336,000 children in 1981. This is 75,000 children more than in 1975.

The total capacity of camps, the number of their operators as well as of winter camps all increased. Their programs became more varied, and ideological education and cooperation with organs of the Pioneers Organization of the Socialist Union of Youth intensified.

During the off-season period, and some Pioneer camps and recreational facilities owned by the ROH were used for organizing schools in nature and recreation of children from areas with polluted living environment.

We want to further increase care by factory committees for workers' children in the ROH Pioneer camps not only by new construction, but also by more purposeful use of recreational facilities owned by enterprises and suitable buildings on a lease. We will pay more attention to the programs of ideological education in the Pioneer camps and, in cooperation with the Socialist Union of Youth, employ the educational system of the Pioneers Organization.

For Better Living Conditions

In improving working and living conditions, an important role is played by worker initiative in the campaign: "Trade Unionists' Gift to Their Plants and to the Republic" in which the trade union brigades voluntarily worked more than 220 million man-hours during the Sixth Five-Year Plan.

Cooperation of trade union organs and organizations with the national committees improved in regard to the standard of services and living environment which was facilitated by the contribution of trade unions to the implementation of the National Front election programs. The trade union brigades worked more than 66 million man-hours in the "Z" beautification campaign alone during the last election period.

The trade union organizations together with the industrial plants and national committees spent almost Kcs 3.5 billion on the construction of preschool establishments and thus helped since almost 85 percent of children in the kindergartens and increased the capacity of factory daytime nurseries by more than 20 percent.

What joint forces can accomplish is clear from the example of Decin Okres where all children of the appropriate age are in kindergartens or of Benesov Okres, where 95 percent of preschool age are in kindergartens.

The election programs of the National Front for the 1981-1985 period create additional prerequisites for our even more effective participation in the solution of important problems related to the living environment.

We expect the kraj and okres trade union councils to expand cooperation with the national committees in improving conditions which constitute the basis of happiness of every working man. We must see to it that common negotiations and the resulting agreements must eliminate shortcomings, justly criticized by workers, in services to the population, health care, transportation, food supply and coordination of working hours.

More Effective Social Control

Some progress was achieved in strengthening socialist legality in labor-management relations, in exercising jurisdiction and duties of trade union organs in relation to enterprise and plant management. This was made possible

mainly by the gradual implementation of the resolutions of the last Czech congress in the area of labor law and implementation of the agreement signed by the Czech Trade Union Council, the CSR Ministry of the Interior and the General Prosecutor's Office.

The arbitration commissions in plants, under the methodological guidance of okres trade union councils, play an important role in strengthening socialist legality in the area of labor law and particularly in the settlement of labor disputes. Social control over the observance of labor-law provisions, exercised by the higher trade union organs, qualitatively improved and focuses now on the elimination of shortcomings resulting from the violation of work organization, discipline and legality.

We must continue along this road -- provide better political and professional training for the members of arbitration commissions, improve social control by the higher trade union organs and pay more attention to the elimination of discovered shortcomings. It is also necessary to increase cooperation in the area of joint decisionmaking of factory committees with economic management.

Investments for Benefit of Members

An important area of work of organs of the Czech Trade Union Council became investment activity which, in accordance with the congress resolutions, helped build the material basis for the activity of our basic organizations. Through investment activity, the higher trade union organs return a considerable part of members' ROH fees to the basic organizations -- for the benefit of members.

We invested Kcs 1.14 billion in the CSR during the Sixth Five-Year Plan. By the self-sacrificing work of our members, we built 11,337 beds in Pioneer camps either by new construction or remodelling. In addition, operations conditions were improved in tens of camps by modernization of social facilities, kitchens, housing capacities and so on.

In building our camps for Pioneers, we assigned priority to the North Bohemia and North Moravia krajs and the capital of Prague as is clear from the fact that 61 percent of available funds were made available to the operators of camps from the above areas.

We also continued in the construction of cultural establishments. Some of them were already put into operation -- in Litvinov, Sumperk, Louny and Semily. Additional ones are being constructed in Plzen, Liberec, Breclav and Uhersky Brod. Our effort has not yet met the need of building a comprehensive network of cultural establishments in the CSR.

A new area of ROH investment activity during the Sixth Five-Year Plan was the construction of projects of a social nature with budget costs below Kcs 2 million. In this way we contributed to the construction of several kindergartens, day-time nurseries, factory and office dining rooms and some recreational facilities.

The results achieved by ROH investment activity during the 1976-1980 period confirm the correctness of our course of action. If we meet with greater understanding by the CSR Government and Czech Planning Commission, we want to focus our attention in the future on those projects which will serve the largest possible number of workers.

Socialist Working Environment Is Our Goal

Our role in the area of overall care for workers during the Seventh Five-Year Plan stems from the program of economic and social development which was approved by the 16th CPCZ Congress. This practically means that, taking into account our past achievements, we must concentrate on the utilization of all reserves in enterprise social policy in all sectors, enterprises and plants, and on the elimination of persisting shortcomings.

The drawing up and implementation of plans of cadre, personnel and social development for the Seventh Five-Year Plan will call for close cooperation of state, economic and trade union organs and initiative by our basic organizations.

The inclusion of these plans' social tasks in the annual collective agreements underlines the mutual obligation to their gradual implementation.

The basis for setting the goals in the five-year and annual plans of social development must be the gradual compliance with the standards of enterprise social facilities in order to create a socialist working environment and optimum conditions both on the job and in connection with the job. Among the foremost tasks is the observance of all safety and sanitary standards, reduction of physically strenuous work, providing quality meals in plant cafeterias and due attention to the necessary capacity of preschool facilities for children.

This broad enterprise social policy will be financed primarily from the funds produced by the successful fulfillment of planned tasks and from the cultural and social services fund. These funds must be used on a priority basis for production of permanent values which serve an overwhelming majority of workers and promote the initiative and commitment of collectives and individuals.

We will also utilize more effectively the voluntary initiative of workers in the campaign "Trade Unionists' Gift to Their Plants and to the Republic" for improvement of the working and living environment.

Together with the effort to increase production, the improvement of working and living conditions must be at the center of our attention because this stems from the basic feature of working class policy and reflects the concern of trade unions for the needs of the working class and other workers engaged in the production process as well as in life.

Socialist Education

The implementation of the demanding tasks of the economic and social program approved by the 15th CPCZ Congress also called for raising the standard and effectiveness of our ideological-educational and cultural work.

We contributed more purposefully to the education of our members in the socialist view of the world, to the growth of their socialist consciousness, to the promotion of proletarian internationalism, socialist patriotism and socialist way of life.

We can say that during the last period our trade union organs and organization improved their educational work, which became more comprehensive, more effective and more varied both in content and form. We intensified mass political work among the members in explaining the resolutions of the 15th and 16th CPCZ congresses and party economic, social and foreign policy.

Since the Ninth All-Trade Union Congress our cooperation in the socialist education of workers increased with the national committees and their deputies, with the Socialist Union of Youth, Socialist Academy and schools. It is encouraging that an increasingly greater number of prominent blue-collar workers and members of technical, creative and artistic intelligentsia are joining this educational work.

We directed our entire mass political and educational work to the promotion of the political activity and social commitment of workers.

Collectives Primarily Responsible for Education

The analysis of the results achieved since our last congress confirms the correctness of the decision by the URO presidium to shift the center of the educational process to basic organizations and work collectives, particularly to trade union sections and BSP. At the present time, almost 50 percent of trade union sections are participating in the campaign to gain the "For Development of Socialist Education" plaque and it is precisely these collectives which demonstrate more work, social and cultural-educational activity. We cannot become reconciled with the fact, however, that in many basic organizations, even with special officials in charge of this campaign, not one single trade union section joined this activity, and the supervisory all-trade union and trade union organs kept silent about it.

In the future, too, constant attention must be paid to socialist education in work collectives, trade union sections, brigades of socialist labor, and on the basis of past experiences to expand and improve their plans of educational and cultural activities.

In connection with the fulfillment of demanding tasks in the national economy, we have tried to improve the economic education of our members and officials. We succeeded in winning over more than 2 million members for participation in political and economic training. An important role in this respect was played by schools of socialist labor, 26,534 of which were set up by the ROW basic organizations in the CSR during 1980-1981 alone and attended by almost 650,000 members, predominantly from BSP. Although this was almost three times as much as 4 years ago, it is not enough for today's needs.

In the training of members and officials, we also put emphasis in economic education and propaganda on the implementation of tasks related to the practical

application of the "Set of Measures," on the more rapid application of scientific and technical achievements, and on conservation of raw and industrial materials and energy. This training was completed by more than 50,000 ROH officials and 1.5 million members. The orientation and schooling of members to thinking and acting in economic terms, however, is permanent and must also be incorporated in the plans for ideological education of basic organizations in the future.

We ask the trade union organs in the first place to pay more attention to the economic education of members and particularly to the schools of socialist labor. Factory committees and their commissions in charge of educational and cultural work, and centers for trade union education must deal much more responsibly with the training of propagandists, agitators, instructors and officials, and pay more attention to improving their ideological, political, pedagogic and professional standards.

Strengthening of International Solidarity

Among the foremost tasks of our ideological educational work is the systematic education toward proletarian and socialist internationalism, toward the friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states.

We vividly realize this fact today, when the most reactionary forces of imperialism try to throw the world back into the period of cold war. They try to reactivate the rightist and antisocialist forces, and with all methods and means to undermine the unity of the states of the socialist community. This is evident from their attitude toward the present situation in Poland, when they outrageously interfere in Polish internal affairs. We are convinced that the Polish working class will successfully cope with the counterrevolutionary forces. We fully support the Polish communists, Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary trade unionists in their struggle against the schemes of domestic and external enemies.

We support the expansion of friendly relations of kraj trade union councils, enterprises and plants with the trade unionists of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. These friendly relations, however, should result in the application of new progressive work methods, more intensive international competition and better mutual knowledge of the life and work of our closest friends.

We proclaim further expansion and strengthening of international solidarity and will actively participate in moral and material support of the progressive forces in the world, of trade unions in the developing and capitalist countries in their struggle against imperialism and for genuine democracy, freedom and peace.

The ROH members in the CSR contributed to the Solidarity Fund an amount which averaged Kcs. 9.11 per member in 1981. In the future, we must increase sale of solidarity stamps and combine it much more with everyday political educational work and education in internationalism.

Constant attention was paid during the last period to the training and additional schooling of officials, to their ideological, political and professional growth. The well-rounded system of schooling makes it possible for us to train more than 300,000 officials of basic organizations and higher trade union organs every year. This schooling definitely had a considerable influence on improving the work of ZOH officials and organs. However, we must pay more careful attention to the selection of officials in accordance with prospective needs, and improve coordination between the trade union and all-trade union organs.

Today's Needs Are the Criterion

Graphic agitation is becoming a tool of education on an ever-increasing scale. Various competitions for the best visual agitation in the plants, towns and okreses contribute to its development and improvement. One of its shortcomings is the fact that it frequently lags behind life's needs. Such agitation is the subject of just criticism and a sign of factory committee formalism. Graphic agitation must be topical, specific, more oriented to censuring disarray, material waste, defective products and must stress efficiency, economy and quality of work. Only such graphic agitation will significantly contribute to the education of workers.

A positive result of the comprehensive concept of educational and cultural work in the basic organizations is the rise and work of groups of activists in civic affairs in the plants who organize celebrations and ceremonies on various important personal and work anniversaries. In this context, increasing use is made of the hall of revolutionary traditions and glorious work achievements, where the outstanding workers are awarded enterprise or sectorial decorations or other tokens of appreciation by the society. We must particularly appreciate the exhibit of documents from the revolutionary struggle of the working class, from the glorious days of February 1948 and the period of building socialism in our country. They are of great importance for the education of the young generation of workers and the admission of young workers to work collectives.

Although from the quantitative standpoint we achieved good results in the trade union press, such as PRACE daily, SVET PRACE and other periodicals, the trade union press does not maintain systematic contact with members, trade union sections or officials.

It is necessary to make more effective use of the "ZZ [expansion unknown] competition" and of other new forms so that cooperation with the press gradually becomes a matter of course in everyday agitation and propaganda.

We must state frankly, however, that by its standards and effectiveness the educational activity of many of our organs and organizations does not meet today's needs: it is not goal-oriented enough, is frequently of low ideological-political standard and is not linked to the specific tasks of work collectives and the worker's life. How else could it be explained that some workers show an incorrect attitude toward work, social property and work discipline. There are still instances of parasitism, pilfering of socialist

property, payments of various bribes in the area of services, health care and retail stores, along with other malpractices.

Although there have been appeals to struggle against these ills, it appears that they have not met with popular response. We must, therefore, launch a vigorous and unremitting struggle against these phenomena, mobilize work collectives and public opinion for their elimination and reprimand the culprits in the press and other news media.

Differentiated Approach to Youth

The past period was also marked by the tendency by our organs and organizations to approach the problems of life and work faced by the young generation, particularly by young apprentices and blue-collar workers, more purposefully and comprehensively.

Increased attention was paid to promoting initiative among young people, to their ideological-educational growth, to their cultural activities and sports related to the defense of the country.

However, there are still few work collectives, BSP and outstanding workers who actively participate in the education of youth toward a socialist approach to work and life. The educational process involving apprentices and working class youth must be carried out within the work collective, where a differentiated approach to the young people is possible. For this reason, we categorically ask the officials of basic organizations to closely cooperate with the Socialist Union of Youth, to follow up and systematically affect the inclusion of young workers in good work collectives, particularly the BSP, to expand the activity of sponsors of working class youth and to mobilize the reserves of the BSP.

In connection with the future development of the Czechoslovak educational and school system, we must express our dissatisfaction with the present cadre, material and organizational conditions in the theoretical and practical training of apprentices and their extracurricular activities. The Czech committees of trade union associations, the local trade union councils, sectorial and enterprise committees must show much more interest in this problem, and within their jurisdiction affect the improvement of conditions in training centers.

Much more attention will have to be paid to the questions which fall directly in the trade union jurisdiction, such as training of apprentices toward ROH membership and their active participation in trade union work. More emphasis must be placed on solving the problem of serving meals to apprentices, protection and labor safety. Ways must be explored for providing larger facilities for recreation and better preventive medical care for apprentices.

Better Conditions for Leisure

In the area of cultural and educational work, we paid principal attention to the current use of workers' leisure. We can say that many workers use their leisure for study, education, pursuance of various hobbies, tourism and sports.

There are several thousand hobby circles engaged in artistic or other activities in the basic organizations and trade union cultural establishments. The Czech Trade Union Council, together with the Ministry of Culture, participates in organizing festivals and exhibitions of objects of art produced by hobby circles, events which demonstrated that we have some outstanding ensembles which are even appreciated abroad, but on the other hand there are ensembles with low ideological and artistic standards to which we must pay much more attention.

We can give some examples where the basic organizations and their cultural department organize various cultural, educational and entertainment programs for workers. Nevertheless, there still are many trade union cultural departments, clubs and libraries which operate in the old way. They confine themselves to entertainment programs which are frequently of an inferior ideological and artistic standard. For this reason, it is imperative to consistently implement the spirit of the resolutions of the 11th ROF Plenum of February 1981, to develop cultural and educational activity and to evaluate the work results regularly.

Just as the Czech Trade Union Council expands and improves its cooperation with the CSR Ministry of Culture, it is necessary for the okreses and krajs to further increase cooperation with the national committees, state cultural and educational institutions within the "Unified Plans of Cultural-Educational Activity," to improve the work of activists in civic affairs, to pay more attention to education of youth toward marriage and parenthood, to work with the gypsy population and create room for work with penitentiaries.

Physical education and sport occupies an increasingly important place in the many-sided activities of trade unions. The competitions in collective sports, particularly in table tennis, volleyball, soccer, tennis and racing in running organized by the daily PRACE are becoming increasingly popular.

In the future, we must take these experiences into account and develop recreational physical education, particularly tourism and sports related to the defense of our country. We must plan to include it in the activity of trade union organizations, recreational activities sponsored by plants and enterprises so that it becomes an integral part of the life of our workers and will be taken for granted.

Personal Agitation Is Most Convincing

The demanding resolutions of the 16th CPCZ Congress formulated the requirement that mass political work must be characterized by daily personal persuasion and agitation by trade union officials in the workplaces, and must not only explain the CPCZ policy, but also aim at winning over all members for its active implementation. There must be more contact and more frankness between the trade union officials and members whose opinions must be listened to. Their justified criticism must be heeded and they must be won over for the elimination of subjective shortcomings.

The resolutions of the 16th CPCZ Congress concerning all areas of our activity, including ideological education and cultural work require that we must not be satisfied with the present situation. No values are given for ever. In life there is a constant struggle going on between the new and the old, a permanent struggle for the consolidation of socialist values, for preservation of peace and progress in the world. For all these reasons, we must improve our ideological education so that all our members not only realize these connections, but also act accordingly.

Political-Organizational Work

The annual membership meetings of trade union sections and basic organizations last year represented the beginning of a long series of conferences in the CSR which will culminate in our congress.

During their preparations for the 10th All-Trade Union Congress, trade unionists in the CSR at the annual membership meetings and association and all-trade union conferences evaluated their past activities, reviewed the problems of trade union work as well as their contribution to the implementation of the CPCZ social and economic program.

All these conferences expressed full support to the CPCZ and its policy corresponding to the needs of further economic, social and cultural development of our society and to the genuine interests of our workers. They made it clear that ROH activity is closely linked to the lives and needs of the members, that trade unionists were not indifferent to the manner in which the line laid down by the 16th CPCZ Congress was being implemented, and that they were resolved to actively participate in its implementation.

These conferences reviewed the successes and achieved results. However, there were also many critical comments regarding trade union work itself, inadequate conditions for worker participation in management and development of their initiative, insufficient care for workers both inside and outside of the plant and inflexible settlement of justified complaints.

From the annual membership meetings and conferences we have drawn the following conclusion: officials and members must frankly talk about all, sometimes unclear and frequently discussed issues, and promptly react to comments and suggestions of members. For this reason, we ask all our trade union organs and organizations to systematically deal with the comments made at the annual membership meetings and conferences. They must make this a permanent feature of their work and must not leave comments of workers without adequate response and concrete conclusions.

Since our last congress, the unity of trade unions has been strengthened, their capacity to act increased, the principles of democratic centralism and intra-union democracy more consistently observed.

The Czech Trade Union Council paid systematic attention to the application of Leninist style and methods in the work of trade union organs and organizations and this was reflected in the greater purposefulness, better planning and concreteness of their activities.

The relations of the Czech Trade Union Council, trade union organs and organizations with the state and economic organs and the National Front were strengthened. These relations helped overcome some shortcomings and underscore the key issues in the national economic area, care for workers, problems in the working and living environment, education and culture which must be dealt with consistently.

Against Formalism and Cliches

While we evaluate the results achieved in our political-organizational work with critical thoroughness, we must say that it still contains some features of formalism, mechanical implementation of tasks, cliches and stereotypes. Our work quite often does not reflect new ideas and a fresh approach, and does not take sufficiently into account the difference in the conditions in which individual organs and organizations operate.

To tell the truth, trade union and all-trade union organs do not work with equal intensity nor do they always achieve good results as the comparison of statistical data makes clear.

Activity of some trade union organs still contains elements of bureaucratic approach and involves an excessive amount of paper work. The resolutions of higher trade union organs are mechanically repeated without applying them to local conditions and specific needs. Frequently new and newer resolutions on the same problems are passed without checking on the implementation of earlier resolutions.

It happens in practice that personal contact with members is replaced by resolutions and appeals which do not take into consideration the life and work needs of people in our basic organizations.

Not all of our officials realize that their authority does not stem from the multitude of resolutions, guidelines, instructions, conferences and meetings of activists, but originates in and is strengthened by concrete organizational work, solution of problems primarily in basic organizations.

The findings and experiences during the last 5 years fully confirmed again that the ROH basic organization is the principal and basic unit in which our successes are decided.

The annual plans of ROH activity provide uniform orientation to work in individual areas of trade union work. The implementation of these plans, however, depends on the degree of assistance rendered by the higher association and all-trade union organs.

The improvement of the activity of basic organizations calls for differentiated, well-thought-out and coordinated work with the chairmen of factory committees. An important part in it is performed by the officials-activists and those members of basic organizations who are officials of higher trade union organs. It is necessary, however, to work with them much better.

Irreplaceable Role of Trade Union Sections

An important unit of trade union organizations is the trade union section, which by its activity maintains daily contact with members.

The trade union sections in the CSR elected 181,662 section stewards and 209,796 stewards for principal areas of trade union activity. Of this total, 58.6 percent were blue-collar workers, 40.4 percent women and 23.7 percent young officials, percentages which correspond to our membership structure.

Although much work was done after the Fifty URO Plenum in 1973 had approved a document on the position and role of trade union sections, we cannot be satisfied with the present situation. All factory committees do not pay constant attention to the officials of trade union sections, do not systematically work with section stewards and do not properly guide and train them for effective performance of their demanding function.

It will therefore be necessary to refer again to the document of the Fifth URO Plenum to make constant use of it, to check on its implementation and to evaluate experiences.

The most important place for exercising, in accordance with the ROH statutes, of every member's fundamental right are the membership meetings through which the members participate in management and administration of plants and enterprises. The data in your hands demonstrate that both the number of and attendance at such meetings have been increasing. There are, however, considerable differences between individual trade union associations and krajs, and more effective measures designed to remedy the situation are not taken. This points to the different standard of work not only in factory committees, but also higher trade union organs. A major issue on which we shall focus our effort is the standard, resolutions and effectiveness of membership meetings. It is by no means exceptional that they are primarily informative and that the issues stemming from the activity of trade unions or related to everyday life in workplaces are rarely put on their agenda. Proposals are not always submitted for solution of problems on which the members have the right and duty to decide or express their opinion.

Responsibility of Trade Union Organs

During the last period, we paid more attention to the activity of higher association and all-trade union organs. We reviewed their work schedules, evaluated their work and publicized their experiences.

We paid more attention to the Czech committees of trade union associations bearing in mind that they have an irreplaceable role in organizing worker participation in the implementation of tasks of economic and social development of sectors in question. We helped expand mutual relations and the scope of joint actions with the CSR ministries.

Despite more complex external and internal conditions, the trade union associations registered a number of successes in stimulating worker initiative and

in care for workers. While we speak so emphatically of our share in the implementation of the CPCZ social and economic program, we must also mention our legitimate demand -- to enhance the role and responsibility of Czech committees of trade union associations for better fulfillment by the trade unions of specific tasks in individual sectors and branches, for better orientation in sectorial problems, for improving the work of their kraj committees which, together with the okres committees of trade union associations, are closest along the association line to the basic organizations.

Our okres and kraj all-trade union organs discharged a demanding task during the last period. They coordinated and rendered uniform the activity of trade union organs and organizations in discharging all ROH functions. They represented all trade unionists in relation to the appropriate political, state, economic and National Front organs on the territory in question.

At recent all-trade union conferences we emphasized that the criterion of a new quality of work of kraj and okres trade union councils will increasingly be how they contribute, in coordination with the kraj and okres committees of trade union associations, to the development of creative work, to the growth of the capacity of action of basic trade union organizations and factory committees in the fulfillment of political, economic, social and educational tasks.

While we speak of the necessity of paying more attention to the living conditions of workers, we must also mention our demand on the kraj and okres trade union councils to expand and improve cooperation with the appropriate national committees and to secure an increased share for trade unions in the work of the National Front.

We Appreciate Self-Sacrificing Work of Officials

In connection with the overall evaluation of results achieved by the ROH in the CSR, it is necessary to see that the demanding tasks could not have been fulfilled without the self-sacrificing work of the large body of activist officials, without the trade union cadres. For this reason, we paid systematic attention to the selection, training and distribution of officials and workers of apparatus.

During the last period, our membership increased almost 352,000 and by now 98.29 percent of the workers in the CSR are organized in trade unions. More than 290,000 officials were elected at the annual membership meetings and conferences of basic organizations. This body of activists was further augmented by the officials elected by the all-trade union, association and republic organs. The ratio of blue-collar workers, women and young officials increased.

This large body of activist officials represents a great force whose correct and constructive management and use will create conditions for further improvement and more effective trade union work. Apart from its political and professional training already mentioned, we must carry out regular and demanding evaluation of the work of trade union officials.

Improving Management

As pointed out by the annual membership meetings, too, the demanding nature and complexity of tasks requires that we systematically improve management by the factory committees all the way up to the Czech Trade Union Council, and raise the overall standard of our work.

The Czech Trade Union Council together with the all-trade union and association organs must see to the gradual and systematic implementation of resolutions of our Ninth All-Trade Union Congress, of the highest party organs and the URO.

During the current term of office, we have discussed and reviewed in individual areas of trade union activity the results achieved by 300 basic organizations, 101 kraj and okres trade union councils, 59 Czech and kraj committees of trade union associations and 9 trade union councils on the important construction projects.

We held a total of 18 plenums, including two joint sessions with the URO and the Slovak Trade Union Council, 65 presidium meetings and 112 secretariat meetings.

During this period, we also held three joint meetings with the CSR Government presidium and a number of meetings with the state organs and organizations of the National Front.

Common Course of Action

We are aware of the demanding nature of trade union work during the next period in which we will try to render management and control more effective in relation to the association and all-trade union organs, to coordinate our course of action and effort in the solution of key problems. We will make them implement their own resolutions as well as resolutions of higher trade union organs and publicize their experiences.

We will expand cooperation with the CSR Government and other state organs, and particularly conclude and consistently carry out agreements on a common course of action toward accomplishing the goals of economic and social policy, and settlement of the rightful complaints of workers.

We must improve cooperation with the organizations of the National Front and particularly with the Socialist Union of Youth, Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship League and Czechoslovak Scientific and Technological Society in increasing the activity and social commitment of trade unionists in their workplaces and places of residence.

Proper Management of ROH Funds

The work of trade union organs and organizations required proper management of trade union funds and administration of trade union property.

In accordance with the resolutions of the 13th ROH Plenum in 1981, we can state at our congress that the ROH organs and organizations in the CSR had the necessary financial resources and material property for the fulfillment of extensive ROH tasks during the last period.

There was an improvement in the standard of budgeting and actual management of trade union property and financial funds which are earmarked for accomplishing trade union political goals and for our members' benefit. Moreover, the kraj and okres trade union councils not only increased their share in management of trade union funds, but also their assistance to the basic organizations.

These results were made possible by the self-sacrificing work of many thousand activist officials of basic organizations and higher trade union organs, particularly auditing commissions, and by periodical discussions of problems related to management of trade union finances.

In accordance with the resolution of the URO presidium, management of almost all basic organizations was audited during the last period. The results of this audit revealed that not all factory committees regarded the audit as part of their work, and that appropriate higher trade union organs did not pay sufficient attention to the activity of audit commissions in the basic organizations because many of them were sluggish.

We must proceed more purposefully and more economically in management of trade union funds in the future. We must assign priority to the production of permanent values which will be reflected in the various forms of care for political, educational, cultural, recreational, physical education and other interests and needs of trade unionists.

In cooperation with economic management, we will pay more attention to the maintenance and modernization of property used for providing care for workers and their family members, particularly to the camps for Pioneers and ROH recreational facilities and cultural establishments.

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We have submitted this report to you on the results of our work since the last Czech ROH congress. It is clear from this report that the Czech Trade Union Council, trade union organs and basic organizations in the CSR based their manifold activity on the vital needs of workers, and directed the creative activity of workers to the fulfillment of national economic plans as the basis of the economic, social and cultural development of our society in accordance with the resolutions of the 15th CPCZ Congress and Ninth All-Trade Union Congress.

We referred quite frankly to the existing shortcomings and additional possibilities of improving our work. Bearing in mind the increasing responsibility of trade unions for further development of the socialist society, we are presenting to the congress the principal tasks for the next 5 years which are very demanding and will call for increased efficiency and quality of our work.

We are convinced that our congress will express the determination of trade unionists in the CSR to consolidate and strengthen the unity of trade unions, to increase our share in the implementation of the resolutions of the 16th CPCZ Congress.

We believe that the results of our congress will become an asset for the 10th All-Trade Union Congress which will convene in Prague in a few weeks.

We are looking forward to its proceedings with further development of creative initiative, signing of socialist pledges and concrete deeds.

Let us do everything to contribute by the best possible results to the development of our socialist society and maintenance of world peace.

10501

CSO: 2400/162

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CONDITIONS OF BELIEVERS IN CSSR DESCRIBED

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 20 Mar 82 p 5

[Article by "R.St.": "Church Under Pressure in Czechoslovakia"]

[Text] Vienna, 18 March—The visit of a delegation representing the Czech and the Slovak episcopate to the Vatican has once more focused attention on the situation of the Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia. As reported earlier, only three out of 13 dioceses presently have ordinaries and of the three archdioceses of Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia only that of Bohemia is headed by an archbishop, namely Cardinal Prantisek Tomasek. Tomasek, who is 82, has long since passed the age limit. It hardly seems possible at present to find a successor to him who would be acceptable to all concerned. The appointment of Apostolic administrators or chapter curates in other dioceses is blocked either by the state or by the Pope. There is no relaxation in sight; in fact, developments in Poland have all but stiffened to Czechoslovak communists' attitude toward the Church.

Types of Discrimination

Late reports indicate that the state has recently been increasing its suppression of religious activities. In a new document, the "Charta 77" human rights movement has accused the authorities of discriminating against believers and of purposely limiting church publications (last year, permission was given to publish only two books). Half of the 60 candidates for the study of theology were said to have been turned down by the Litomerice theological faculty and last year the Bratislava faculty expelled 12 students for going on a hunger strike. The document further states that the authorities have infiltrated unqualified teachers into the faculties and were applying pressure on young priests to join the Pacem in Terris movement which is friendly to the regime.

Church in the Underground

In the recent past, some information has reached the West on secret churches and underground religious groups. Slovak bishop Hlinica, who lives in Rome, has said that young people above all are increasingly committing themselves to religion and are joining together with likeminded people. Such groups are considered illegal by the state. Their meetings are broken up; during the past year, several of the members were sentenced to prison terms. The state authorities usually say that such groups make it difficult for the state to maintain control of the churches. In most cases, however, these groups cannot be charged with having engaged in political activity. The regime hoped to strike a blow against the Church by not permitting hundreds of priests to exercise their religious functions. Many of these priests have since

found regular employment and are now active as worker-priests. It is said that their influence on the believers is greater now than it would be, if they preached from the pulpit. In the Czech part of the country, the Church used to be traditionally identified with the powers that be; today, it undoubtedly is more closely associated with the people. In addition to the restrictions on religious activity described above, actual repressive measures do occur. 3 weeks ago, two men were surprised as they tried to set up (or perhaps modernize) a listening device in archbishop Tomasek's residence. When a protest was lodged, the interior ministry offered a half-hearted excuse. Searches of parish houses and of former monasteries which have since been converted into old-age homes appear to be quite frequent.

Poland Accused at Writers' Congress

In other fields, too, any hopes that the forcible collapse of the Polish reform movement might at least have some salutary effect on Czechoslovakia have proven to be unfounded. At the writers' congress in early March union secretary-general Kosak criticized those responsible for Polish literary activities for having published practically no new Czech books in Poland during the past few years. As far as official Czech literature is concerned, interest in Poland was indeed scant because these Czech authors—with few exceptions—were far too much inclined to cozy up to their rulers. Now this is not about to change, if Kosak has his way. But even under present conditions in Poland, it would be far from easy to get such a functionaries' literature established there.

The Prague government's tactics have changed very little with regard to the dissidents. Out-of-favor authors, who were still able to publish abroad until recently, are systematically stripped of their means of existence—for instance by not letting their wives work. Writer Eva Kanturkova has been in prison for 10 months after being accused of having had a part in the transport of leaflets by two young Frenchmen. The singer Charlie Soukup was offered the choice of appearing in court once again or emigrating because of his "subversive" songs. Last week, he opted for emigration and loss of citizenship instead of a prison sentence and left with his family for France.

9470
CSO: 2500/198

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

FIVE NEW ARMY DIVISIONS ALLEGEDLY ESTABLISHED

Bonn DIE WELT in German 6 Jan 82 p 1

['ASD' report by Ingo Urban, West Berlin: "GDR With Five New Divisions?"]

[Text] The GDR military leadership has raised five new divisions for its ground forces, apparently in great secrecy. At the same time, as reported yesterday by a reliable source, the executive power of the state apparatus has been transferred to the National Defense Council, whose chairman is SED chief Erich Honecker.

According to this information, the East Berlin Ministry for Defense has not released the 70,000 reservists called up in November 1981. These men for the most part have been placed in the five new divisions. Thus, the ground forces of the "National People's Army (NVA) now have a total of 11 divisions. That is one less than the FRG Bundeswehr has in its ground forces.

The called-up reservists did not receive any leave time either at Christmas or New Year's Day. In letters to their families, the soldiers mentioned a "special mission" as the reason for their not getting any leave. The soldiers have been promised leave by their superiors, however, upon completion of this mission.

Precisely during the visit of FRG Chancellor Schmidt to SED chief Erich Honecker in Schorfheide, north of Berlin, the entire administrative operation of the GDR was placed on war status. That happened on Saturday, 12 December. This measure enabled the GDR to go into military action at a moment's notice. In the jargon of the GDR administrative and military leadership, the term "shortened structure" has been used in this context. By this is meant that the entire administration in all areas of the state has become subordinated only to the SED bezirk and kreis secretaries.

Since the beginning of 1982, moreover, in East Berlin the police force has been augmented by members of the People's Police and the Garrisoned Alert Police from GDR bezirks. According to information from the GDR as reported on 5 January 1982 by Information Office West (IWE), at present an as yet unknown number of People's Police officers has been transferred "temporarily" to East Berlin for reasons of security policy. In comparison with GDR bezirks, East Berlin has the highest criminality figures.

DISCUSSIONS AT EAST BERLIN 'PEACE MEETING' OF WRITERS ANALYZED

Cologne DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV in German Vol 15 No 1, Jan 82 pp 5-9

['Commentaries and Current Discussions' feature article by Harald Kleinschmid, editor, Deutschlandfunk, West Berlin: "'I Have Fulfilled a Dream'--On the 'Berlin Meeting for Promotion of Peace.'" A translation of a Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE article on the same topic is published under the heading, "GDR Writers' Critical Views at Berlin 'Peace Meeting' Reported," in JPRS 79988, 1 Feb 82, No 1970 of this series, pp 1-8. For various references to other items of related information see translation of a Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE article published under the heading, "Western Attitudes at East Berlin 'Peace Meeting' Criticized," in JPRS 80054, 8 Feb 82, No 1973 of this series, pp 12-15]

[Text] On the eve of 14 December 1981, in conclusion of an approximately 15-hour discussion, Stephan Hermlin stated: "I have fulfilled a dream which has been engaging me during the last few months and from which I no longer want to wake up." The emotion that Hermlin felt in saying this was genuine.

For it was truly a singular event what this author--who in both East and West is considered a man of honesty and integrity--had initiated in September, when he sent letters of invitation to writers, artists and scientists in several East and West European states and above all in the two German states. The meeting, which was supposed to be neither a conference nor a congress and at which no resolutions were to be adopted, had originally been planned for mid-November. Naturally, it could not be held without the backing of the first man in the GDR, Erich Honecker, especially since the guest list comprised explosive names such as Guenter Grass, Jurek Becker, Thomas Brasch, Stefan Heym, Rolf Schneider and others, whose sympathy for socialist ideas is beyond dispute, but whose sympathy for real socialism is limited. One may assume that it was with an eye to his imminent talk with Federal Chancellor Schmidt that Erich Honecker proposed mid-December as the conference date. In fact, the meeting began exactly 2 hours after the chancellor had left the GDR via Guestruw; it is unlikely this was an accident.

During the preparatory period preceding the conference, discussions took place; open discussions in the West, where the suspicion was voiced that protagonists of the West German peace movement could be made tools of Eastern peace propaganda. It seems safe to assume that the GDR leadership, too, harbored doubts and skepticism, for the security experts in the party and state apparatus were bound to consider such an event a considerable risk. Prior to the conference, Guenter Grass and Stephan Hermlin debated the question whether or not the press--both Eastern and

Western--should be present from the beginning: That the press was finally admitted is a tribute not only to Hermlin, who assumed this risk; it also is evidence of considerable self-assurance on the part of East Berlin.

Even Robert Havemann could have been present; however, he complained he had not been invited and mentioned "dubious terms." He then invited the participants to Glienheide, but it is not known whether anybody accepted this invitation. Hermlin called Havemann's attitude "thoroughly German," by which he meant the attempt to succeed in order to split an incipient movement. In defense of the system's critic, the writer Erich Fried stated at the conference that Havemann had obviously done injustice to Hermlin, but one should bear in mind that anyone could become unjust after suffering injustice for such a long time.

Stephan Hermlin had made clear his intentions before the opening of the conference. At the end of November, in a ZDF [Second German Television Network] interview, he had stated--with reference to the strength of the West German peace movement--"that I am not quite satisfied with the way things have been done in my country." In his opening speech in the evening of the first conference day, his intentions became still clearer. Hermlin stated that the motto "Establish Peace Without Armaments" was akin to great utopias, "thus having a core of reality"; in support of his thesis, he quoted a letter by Lenin, which had been published only in the previous year and in which Lenin took a very pacifist stand in favor of unilateral disarmament measures. While emphasizing that this was not the only view of Lenin's in regard to disarmament, Hermlin wanted Lenin's undogmatic, flexible and pragmatic approach to be considered a model for the GDR leadership. Even though Hermlin did not conceal his conviction, he exercised restraint during the discussion held the following day; he always was conscious of his function as a figure of integration. The controversies were supplied by others and occasion for such controversies was amply provided by the very composition of the body of participants (just under 90): the spectrum ranged from the two scientists, the "atomic spy" Klaus Fuchs and the Austrian futurologist Robert Jungk, to Hermann Kant and Bernd Engelmann and then to Stefan Heym and Jurek Becker. Present were many of those who in the intellectual arena of the two German states have rank and name: Guenter Grass, Luise Rinser, Peter Roehmkorf, Fritz Gremer, Christa Wolf, Gerhard Wolf, Konrad Wolf--to name but a few. At the conference, which was officially staged by the GDR Academy of Sciences and the GDR Academy of Arts, but the premises for which were not to be provided by these two organizations, there gathered expellees and individuals who had stayed, outcasts and individuals held in high esteem, quiet individuals and noisy ones. They did not spare each other; there was hardly any taboo in both the West and the East that remained untouched; the participants gave each other a piece of their minds, without any of those attacked losing their composure. Complying with the request Stephan Hermlin had made at the beginning, all of the participants exercised self-discipline--and perhaps they really did so for the sake of the common cause of peace. Anyone who knows artists and intellectuals knows how difficult this is.

"The Fuse Is Already Lit"

It goes without saying that the subject of Poland weighed heavily on the conference; after all, it was on the conference's opening day that the state of emergency was announced. Robert Jungk asked right at the beginning: "What is going to happen to our Polish colleagues?" He emphasized that one could not solve "problems by means

of armed force or by the threat of armed force." The next morning, Stefan Heym stated he thought he was dreaming, because all the while the conference members were discussing war and the threat of war, "a few kilometers off the fuse is already lit." He stated there had begun "once before a world war over Poland." Heym was supported by the Swiss writer Adolf Muschg who spoke of the "strong flight reflexes" that he had experienced in consequence of the news from Poland and who warned: "If intervention occurs in Poland, we might as well forget about all possible results of our meeting. If that happens, the peace movement will be destroyed and that goes for the West, too. Our arguments will then have lost their punch." On the subject of Poland, there were no comments from the party line-following GDR authors and scientists, who on other occasions were not averse to explaining the position of the party leadership and of the government in regard to peace and disarmament. In some instances, this was done in differentiated, finely honed formulations such as those advanced by Hermann Kant in defense of the Soviet moratorium proposal. Other speakers, e.g. the 85-year-old Wieland Herzfelde, were very direct; Herzfelde reduced the problem to the following simple formula: "To my knowledge, our country does not have any military service; there is only a defense service and this is a great difference, as anyone with a command of the German language will confirm."

The stumbling block for this part of the discussion was supplied by Guenter Grass' remark that he felt threatened by the American Pershings as well as by the Soviet SS-20 missiles. Grass likened the two great powers to "two unloved giants who want to be loved and who occasionally use threats to make us love them."

As has been pointed out, some comments on this subject were much more differentiated. Franz Fühmann delivered a passionate speech in favor of truth and against mendacity. "In the universal character of the peace movement of the 1980's--a character transcending national, religious and ideological boundaries--one finds the beginnings of what could be called global politics from below: the breaking up of a vicious circle, within which distrust and increased armaments generate intensified distrust....to wage war on mendacity wherever he or she is--that is the essential step, the big as well as little step, that a writer can take in the defense of peace." Heiner Müller called the peace in Europe a peace within a war on three other continents: "The peace movement, if it considers itself an innocent, idealistic unity movement, repeats the tragedy of the Children's Crusades. Behind the question of war or peace, the nuclear threat poses the more terrifying question whether there may be another peace, a peace different from the peace of exploitation and corruption: The end of mankind as the price of the planet's survival."

Christa Wolff took a stand against the entire civilization: "If there are people who plan annihilation, one should be permitted to take certain liberties. This civilization, which has so systematically produced the materials for its own destruction, is sick, perhaps insane; it is mortally ill."

"Not the Mouthpiece of a Government"

Within this global problem--i.e. the problem concerning ways of survival open to mankind--the subject of pacifism in the GDR, which had been introduced by Stephan Hermlin, determined the tenor of large parts of the discussion. Guenter Grass was the first to demand that the Western peace movement be matched in East Europe. The view of the GDR economics professor Juergen Kuczynski--to the effect that a peace

movement in the GDR would be superfluous, because the GDR Government was anyhow in favor of peace--was opposed by Jurek Becker who stated that writers and scientists should "not be a mouthpiece of this or that government," that they should "not subscribe to the logic of the military." Dieter Lattmann from the Federal Republic then called for replacing the word "war" by the war "genocide." He stated that even if opponents of military service did not enjoy any respect in the FRG or in the GDR, respect might be accorded to opponents of genocide. The most persuasive contribution to the subject of a peace movement in the GDR was made by Guenter de Bruyn, "one of the quiet ones in the country": "However pleasing the recognition of the West European peace movement by the GDR may be, its utility will remain questionable, if there is the impression that what is acclaimed over there is undesirable here.... The peace-oriented policy of the GDR, which aims at forming an alliance with the peace movements all over the world, will be hurting itself, if it rejects the alliance offer of independent peace groups in its own country, e.g. the overtures of the young Christians calling for a social peace service. If they are pushed into the underground, one not only loses valuable peace forces, but also detracts from one's own credibility. It would be a great advance, if the assent to proposals concerning proscription of nuclear weapons were cosigned by an independent peace movement of the GDR.... It would be desirable for this conference to provide an impetus in this direction, but I have to concede that I have not much hope in this regard."

The same line was pursued by the spectacular proposal made by Stefan Heym: A number of conference members from both East and West should march to Alexanderplatz [Alexander Square] and demonstrate in favor of abolition of nuclear weapons in both German states. In addition, Heym urged "to invite to the first rank a number of representatives of this government, e.g. Comrade Honecker. Should this demonstration take place here, I guarantee that the silent majority in this country--which always keeps silence, because it feels we are powerless--will join in the march, and I am convinced that such a demonstration could have a tremendous effect on the peace movement in the West."

The picture presented above could be misleading: The voices objecting to these views--views that had rarely been voiced so candidly and publicly in the GDR--were at least as numerous. For example, in reply to Heym's proposal, the Soviet scientist Daniel Proyektor stated such a demonstration was superfluous, since no nuclear weapons were stationed in the GDR. Only Volker Braun succeeded in driving on the discussion concerning this issue (see below). Likewise deserving of attention--at least from a personal point of view--were the statements of the GDR PEN president, Professor Heinz Kamnitzer, who passionately objected to unilateral disarmament on the part of the East: "I cannot forget--and I think many others in this hall have not forgotten either--how defenseless we once were, when Adolf I came and conquered."

Bernhard Kant, the eloquent president of the GDR Writers Association, demonstrated in the course of the discussion his own learning ability: "We must take seriously the assumption that the other side may feel threatened by us. The fact that I know the other side is mistaken does not help us out of this predicament. I have to convince anyone concerned--and who would not be concerned--of my interest in peace."

As early as the beginning of the conference, Kant had perceived "nervousness on the part of some authority figures in the face of our gathering."

Some of the subjects, a detailed discussion of which could really have given rise to nervousness, especially on the part of the GDR leadership, were only of secondary importance. One of these topics was the German Question. To be sure, the statement--nowadays almost a cliché--that never again must a war be started from German soil was repeatedly voiced in the hotel on Alexanderplatz [Alexander Square]; however, no one wanted to turn the conference into an all-German event. Even Guenter Grass mentioned his idea of a German nation based on cultural values only in his opening speech and he did so only in passing.

There was another fear that proved groundless: The fear that some of the authors, who after Biermann's expatriation had been subjected to regimentation or who had emigrated, would make their lament the focus of the discussion. To be sure, this subject was included, e.g. by Thomas Brasch who called "horrible" the state of peace that he had experienced before his departure from the GDR. He said it was the "permanent state prevailing between the rabbit and the snake, an absolute lull."

In an overly impetuous speech, Rolf Schneider pointed to the fact that the GDR media had not mentioned some of the writers disciplined in 1979, when they signed Bernt Engelmann's "Appeal of European Writers": "It appears that those publicists who censored the names out of the GDR press considered the 1979 dispute concerning literary policy to be more significant than the cause of peace. This is worse than shabby."

In reporting about the "Berlin Encounter," the GDR media took a similar position. The GDR television network showed only scenes in which controversial figures such as Stefan Heym, Thomas Brasch or Jurek Becker were invisible. Although the 17 December 1981 issue of NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, the central SED organ, devoted an entire page to the conference, the coverage of the speeches hardly reflected the controversies and opposing views prevailing in the discussions. If covered at all, divergent opinions were mentioned only in passing. The SED's agitation apparatus consistently adhered to the view that thanks to the admission of the Western press the public nature of the conference had been assured and that the GDR citizens would thus be provided with a comprehensive picture by the Western electronic media.

Of greater interest is the question whether in the near future the complete minutes of the meeting will be published in both German states. In this connection, Stephan Hermlin stated during an interview by Deutschlandfunk [German Radio Network] he did not consider it a good thing, if these minutes were to be published only in one of the two German states. The "Berlin Encounter" was an event that for the GDR was unprecedented. It remains to be seen whether it will result in direct consequences for the policy pursued by the other German state. At any rate, the peace movement in the GDR, which so far had appeared to be restricted to the Protestant Church, suddenly has gained prestigious allies. Moreover, the success of the conference has lent support to those in the GDR leadership who advocate a policy of cautious risk vis-a-vis the West. The conference has helped--and presumably this was the original intent--to restore at least in part the GDR's intellectual reputation, which had been severely damaged by the writers' exodus following Biermann's expatriation.

Excerpt from Volker Braun's Speech

The proposal to stage a demonstration has quickly been shelved. I am concerned about the fact that there obviously is not enough motivation for a peace movement in this country. I have the impression--and I am saying this seemingly abruptly and by the way--that it is no accident that in this hall the word communism has not been said. Forgive me for repeating my premise; I think this is necessary in view of Professor Jung's (GDR) opinion that presently peace could be said to be a paradise. The peace that now must be maintained is a terribly gaunt figure armed to the teeth; a figure that forces us to make unceasing efforts to armor it all over; efforts over which socialism may forget its own objectives. Peace--a monster that devours our strength. All interests and objectives subordinated to the banal purpose to maintain it. And not only that it uses up science in the arms industry: presently it even demands that every mental effort be made to undo achievements of the mind. Presently it demands that we ponder not only the development of technology, but also ways of returning--for reasons of economy--to a more primitive technology. Instead of automation, mini-rationalization; instead of petroleum, coal; instead of coke, plant soil into the furnaces. This dismal exertion--it is bound to turn us into the species of inventive dwarves described in Brecht's "Galilei." Inventive dwarves--also in regard to the oppressive structures necessary for this peace, in regard to the powers of command necessary for this peace, in regard to the information monopoly necessary for this peace. Peace--the alibi for the well-nigh unchangeable socialism, for the well-nigh unchangeable capitalism, for this world that is chasing after things that are no improvement. And I must praise it, I must desire it: this peace of such small dimensions. This hunchbacked peace, this little peace. And not even the fact that we have obtained it in this way makes it secure; rather, because we have obtained it in this way, the danger of mankind's self-destruction is growing.

8760

CSO: 2300/141

CULTURE MINISTER ON GOETHE LEGACY IN 'SOCIALIST NATIONAL CULTURE'

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 23 Mar 82 p 4

[Report on speech by Minister for Culture Hans-Joachim Hoffmann in Weimar on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's death: "His Legacy Will be Preserved and Carried on by a Free People on Free Soil"]

[Text] In his commemorative address in Weimar, GDR Minister for Culture Hans-Joachim Hoffmann called Johann Wolfgang Goethe one of the most important figures in the history of intellectual life, science and culture. "We think of him with love and reverence," the minister said. "His genius continues to act upon our life and will provide future generations with stimulation, wisdom and intellectual delight."

The stronger and the more diversified developed socialist society becomes, the more urgent is its need to partake of the great experiences of past epochs and of the critical acquisition of its entire historical heritage.

Proven Tradition of the Labor Movement

"Faithful to the traditions of the revolutionary labor movement, we in the GDR have always made an effort to combine the heritage of the great personalities of the German people with the social life of our time. We have always tried to free the heritage of the nations of the world and our own nation from distortion and defamation. This was one of the fundamental conditions upon which to construct a truly free society in cooperation with the Soviet Union and all progressive forces in the world."

Freedom from exploitation for the working class, the peasants and the working population as a whole, the minister continued, also provided all these with the freedom to develop their own intellectual-cultural powers and to partake of all the values of education and culture. The aim is to creatively develop the heritage further so as to do justice to the great tasks of this epoch.

"The continuity with which the German revolutionary labor movement has always devoted itself to the German classics—above all to Goethe and Schiller—has been a mainstay of our socialist national culture ever since the inception of our governmental-social development in the GDR."

Hans-Joachim Hoffmann recalled the Goethe celebration of 1949 at which time Otto Grotewohl, Johannes R Becher and Thomas Mann gave expression to the ideological mandate for our time which sprang from classical humanism. Goethe was always near at hand during the years of socialist development, "a friendly spirit that partook of the creation of a new socialist consciousness keyed to the future tasks of mankind."

"Goethe was one who enlightened and who always sought to gain ideological insights in his understanding of the real world and who for all the contradictions in his life and thought fought for truth at all times. He is the greatest poet the German people has yet brought forth, deeply rooted in his own time, a part of it with every fiber of his body and pointing toward the future at the same time, of value and profit to later generations." In this connection, the minister for culture related Goethe's role to that of other major poets of his age like Lessing, Klopstock, Herder, Schiller and Hoelderlin as well as to revolutionary bourgeois democrats and to important authors of German Romanticism.

"But let us leave no doubt about the fact that despite all our respect for their great achievements in thought and in art that it is Goethe who occupies a special, extraordinary—one might say—central place in the cultural history of the German people above all because his creativity, bringing together the major intellectual currents of his epoch, was an expression of the high point of bourgeois-humanist emancipation."

Irreplaceable Values for the World Image of Socialism

"We often refer to classical German philosophy as one of the sources of scientific socialism," the speaker went on. "One should include in this classical German literature and Goethe's heritage most of all. In his view of man and his historical potentialities; in much of what is contained in his view of nature and history, we can find productive inspiration for forming our own views about nature, society and art. His work provides us with much stimulation for developing our own view of history and the world and he inspires us by offering value concepts and a view of life. His poetry helps in the maturation process of socialist-realist art and literature."

As a witness to great historic events and upheavals, Goethe reacted to new social processes in every instance. "His efforts—up to his old age—to assign the proper place to the epoch he lived in within the larger framework of world history so as to look ahead to the future development of mankind are important to us." In this connection, the minister for culture cited Goethe's theoretical writings but above all his major works like "Faust." "What a colorful panorama of human history full of artistic imagery unfolds before our eyes in his works! In his later years, Goethe recognized the historical necessity of the incipient age of bourgeois society and defended it against illusionist romantic thinking! But he also held on to his conviction that this society could not be history's last word." Goethe's legacy to mankind is contained in his vision of a free people upon free soil, "the best and finest legacy of humanism bequeathed to us by the bourgeois class," Hans-

Joachim Hoffmann said. "This legacy hands down to us the obligation to relate past, present and future to each other which means no more and no less than to conceive of one's own actions beyond the present day and to take one's place within the course of history. We not only see the nearest attainable political, economic or cultural goal; we see the small things within the large; we see in this present time the movement carrying us forward into the communist age just as we can only support the great world movement, if we resolutely, accurately and consciously set for ourselves and fulfill the tasks of our day. Goethe was deeply beholden to just such a dialectic and his wise recognition that purposeful action in the present and for the future must be based on an awareness of history has become part of our own view of the world."

"One cannot speak of Goethe's classical humanism," the minister continued, "without calling to mind his conviction that welfare and culture can prosper only in times of peace. In view of the present tense world situation, we are duty-bound to develop and apply all our powers in all fields of endeavor to make certain that the historical possibility of the peaceful coexistence of peoples becomes a reality. Goethe's ideas and his wisdom can help and stimulate us in this endeavor."

The minister then spoke of the active role Goethe played in promoting scientific progress in his time. It was impressive how he tried to combine learning about the view of the world with a scientific urge to know. "We recall and marvel at the universal character of Goethe's efforts and his intention to protect the individual disciplines from isolation and practical limitation."

"He was early to recognize that every scientist must be at pains to apply interdisciplinary standards to the subject matter under consideration and to fix his ideological point of reference again and again which relates his personal actions and ideas to the whole."

"This humanistic ideal which places the individual in the center of the world also requires of him that he resolutely take issue with the world. This leads over to the idea to which Goethe gave expression quite clearly in his 'Poetry and Truth': 'Like the whole in which we are contained, our life is in some inexplicable manner combined of freedom and necessity. Our actions are a premonition of that which we will under all circumstances do.' In the struggle to find the solution for the tasks that need to be done; in the correct assessment of possibilities—therein, says Goethe, lies the seed of a mature person."

Felt and Acted Like a Collective Being

The interrelationship between the creative individual and other people working productively was the prerequisite for desired achievements in Goethe's view as much as anyone's. In that sense, he felt he was a "collective being." Not only to be prepared to learn from others but also to discover the means of going about it—to choose, to ponder, to experiment and to act purposefully, these are the aspects in the life of each individual which we have come

to appreciate as we move forward in the direction of our socialist society. But we cannot only learn from Goethe how each individual talent must be developed but also that such capabilities must be permitted to grow, since they were not—as the saying goes—given to the individual at birth." If Goethe penetrated into so many areas of knowledge and acquired new faculties until old age, then it was his great diligence which guaranteed his success.

Search for the Great Subject of Art

"The humanistic values which Goethe and other thinkers of his time proclaimed were not based on pale, altruistic conceptions of man as he is and as he might be. They were based on a profound understanding of social realities and thus of the need to contribute to the social progress of the bourgeois class and the masses," the minister said. "The liberation from antiquated norms of feudal and bourgeois morality, from narrow-mindedness, class prejudice and ideological obtuseness was bound to bring forth a new ethic which combined a great number of elements pointing toward the future."

"Much of what still moves us in our time," the minister went on, "moved Goethe in his. He was affected by the problems of love, marriage and the family. The marvelous characters—both women and girls—which Goethe created and which have no equal in the German literature of earlier centuries give proof of their right to a good life and to moral-legal emancipation." Goethe helps us raise questions of morality and of ethics which are of interest to us. "He inspires us to give thought to ourselves and turns out to be a truly sage and worldly-wise counselor."

Among all of Goethe's great achievements, his poetic legacy speaks to us most of all. "As the foremost among the group of great writers of the 'artistic period,' his major works of poetry not only represent refreshing art at its noblest but also testify to the historically conditioned heights of aesthetic endeavor. Goethe's poetry shows us how an artist can provide us with a most exalted reflection of the world around us."

Like other poets of his time, Goethe was always interested in the great subject of art. "Again and again, he related his own personality to the whole world and thus to the current problems of the nation and of mankind. And in all of this, he knew that only an 'I' that is 'ever striving;' a man who never stops learning but gains new knowledge step by step will be able to follow the course of history and to create the kind of poetry which does justice to the highest social demands. Such productive tension between the individual creative artist and the society of his time can lead to achievements in each epoch that are commensurate with it."

The speaker then pointed out that Goethe, Schiller and other poets of the time were active "defenders of poetry;" advocates of a new, progressive relationship between culture and contemporary society. "We, too," he continued, "know of the need to bring socialism and art closer and closer together, since the continuing efforts to achieve our primary goals not only call for material well-being but also for intellectual-cultural well-being."

Humanistic Dreams of the Past Are Now Being Fulfilled

Art and literature are capable of making a wide impact on the life of men. "The more man frees himself from the shackles of oppression and bondage imposed on him by the antagonistic class society; the more he comes into his own, the more he will be able to make use of art and literature as a social being. The more real socialism unfolds, the more art and literature become a multifarious and important necessity of life."

Thus, in our time, the dream the classic writers dreamt is being fulfilled. Our socialist national culture is thriving and will continue to thrive; many important talents are coming to the fore; literature and art have become the property of the people. There is a lively intellectual-cultural life going on; new works of artists and writers are being discussed; the variety of individual contributions and forms has become a characteristic feature of our artistic landscape. The arts are a partner in the development of socialist-humanist man. Of course, not all the 'grand dreams' we have come true but we may be sure that the artists will continue to learn from the masters of classic-humanist art."

The productive-critical acquisition of the classic heritage, the minister said, must always be accompanied by historical-social self-comprehension. "Let us not forget that we in the GDR have a particular internationalist obligation to preserve the classic legacy and Goethe's legacy as well as to delve deeply into it and present it to the public. Other peoples have a right to expect that from us because this legacy is part of what Goethe called 'world literature' by which he meant the humanistic, peaceful cultural exchange process between nations which include the immortal works that belong to all peoples."

"We are proud of everything," Hans-Joachim Hoffmann declared in conclusion, "which the German people has contributed to the peaceful intellectual and artistic growth of mankind in the past. We defend this treasure against all those who would misuse, distort or deny it. We honor the masters of centuries gone by as we hand down their works to the ensuing generations in recognition of the fact that they belong to them and that they constitute the best part of what makes up our socialist national culture."

9478

CSO: 2300/207

KADAR COMMENTS ON POLICY, PROBLEMS IN ACADEMY SPEECH

Budapest MAGYAR TUDOMANY in Hungarian No 2, Feb 82 pp 86-94

[Text] I thank the Presidium of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences for their invitation and for their friendly reception. I would like to emphasize that meeting with the leaders of Hungarian scientific life is an important event for me also. I have listened with great attention to the opening speech of the comrade president and to all fourteen of those commenting on the achievements and problems in their scientific areas. Their words testify that there is sparkling life in the leading body, departments and research institutes of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and that very significant work is taking place there. It is gratifying and worthy of recognition that their activity is linked much more closely than before to those questions which concern the Central Committee of the party, the government and Hungarian society.

Every comment merits attention, the comrades touched on very important themes. Still, permit me to talk about the questions of our contemporary life more comprehensively--occasionally linking this to what has been said.

Experiences of the Past 25 Years

When I received the invitation I thought I would come for a visit and ask you how you were doing, what you were doing, and wish you continued good work. But in the midst of daily occupations the weeks and months and years fly by quickly, and if one recalls when we last had such a meeting it is almost embarrassing, because almost a decade has passed. This inspires a more fundamental review. This is also inspired by the fact that the press and media organs these days are saying a good deal about the events of 25 years ago, about the experiences of the past quarter century.

It is not by chance that these things are now getting greater publicity than earlier. Twenty-five years ago our people lived through very serious, critical times. That period provided very important experiences and was accompanied by lessons of historical significance. But that was a quarter century ago. Since then about half of the population of the country has come of age. Almost three quarters of our party membership joined the party since then. So an entire generation has grown up which did not live through nor experience those events. At the same time it is very important that they know these experiences, draw from these lessons. Certain international

developments also justify taking our experiences into account. Such causes have guided us in the relatively broader publication activity.

You know those goals which the party and government proposed at that time, clearly marking out the direction of progress for both leadership and people. Certainly you recall that at the beginning this met with little understanding, but we achieved a swift socialist consolidation in every area with diligent, patient work which brought results step by step. The direction designated proved to be correct, the goal proposed was realized! So the party and government and the leadership of the country can say that it has kept its word. Struggling for correct, good goals, it won the support of the people. And when I say the people I am also thinking of those working in science.

I would like to point out that our policy not only kept to the main direction but it was also capable of developing every fundamental question of social life. It was able to keep pace with the age, although these 25 years were extraordinarily complex in the life of our people and society too. In regard to the world situation in which we Hungarians exist and had to prosper, it was even more complex. The fact that the party was successful in realizing its chief line through such a quarter century is a guarantee that it will be able to continue it in the future also, will be able to progress further on the correct path. There is in the party a determined intention to do this, and there is a readiness and ability to do so. In regard to methods also we are striving for consistency and continuity.

Everyone knows that I am a convinced communist; I have believed in the socialist ideal always and in all circumstances. This is true. Of the many experiences and lessons to be derived from the events one of the most essential for me is that it is important not only what I represent but also how I do so. This requires no special proof. Life itself shows and proves that the correct guidance methods of the party involve close and vital mass contacts. In the future also the "how" will be a determining factor. It is thanks to this that after designating the correct direction we achieved the greatest victory of our quarter century, which is not a material but rather of a moral-political nature, namely a socialist national union, which is also the source of all our achievements in socialist building work. Our successes are very significant in the development of productive forces, in artistic life and in public culture, and in the area of the standard of living. We can be happy about this, and we can be proud of it. But we cannot be self-satisfied. There is still very much to do, as you also have pointed out, disclosing the problems of the various spheres of scientific life, the causes hindering further development. Such observations are important and timely.

All things considered we can say that the conditions necessary for progress do exist. The most important condition--which is also a unique summary of all which we have achieved--is that the socialist system works!

Several Problems of the Socialist System--With the Eyes of History

In regard to its internal essence and developmental possibilities the socialist system is superior to capitalism and is the highest order society of those

known thus far. But for this very reason--in my view and according to my experience--it still has a number of weaknesses which are connected primarily to historical causes. There were social system changes earlier too, we know this from history, but never before was there such a critical turning for mankind. And it appears that this, putting an end to the exploitation of man by man, is a more difficult undertaking, involving a greater parturition, than all those before.

Viewpoints of security and trust necessarily received an important role beginning with the days of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The first and well functioning organization of the Soviet state, in addition to the party tempered in the revolution, was the Red Army. A significant number of the revolutionaries could not read a map, much less prepare general staff plans. The way they fought was to name Czarist officers to command the troops, and they put a political commissar beside each one of them who, pistol in hand, saw how they led the troops to battle and to victory. That was how the question of "experts" and political reliability stood at the time of the birth of the system. After the Second World War the smaller socialist countries also were born under more or less similar circumstances, and they were affected by this same mentality, which could not be eradicated so simply. All the less so because, unfortunately, the harmful view became fairly widespread later that the class struggle increases with the progress of socialist building.

This is how the new Hungarian state began to function also; the old state apparatus remained--it would be harmful not to recall this--under the supervision of not large groups of revolutionaries tempered in the hard struggle under the Horthy regime, supported by the left, the democratic forces, and bringing the people too into this supervision. This involved the question of political trust. This is how it came up then. Since then Hungarian society has gone through an entire developmental epoch, it is placed on socialist foundations, has created and educated its own apparatus. But looking at it historically, we can attribute to this something which I consider a weakness of our system, one still not entirely overcome, something which I see in the fact that the decision making process is slow. We must refine and constantly perfect these decision making reflexes and mechanisms.

Reckoning with the changing historical conditions, social realities and power relationships, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party has built its policy on broad trust. It has placed cadre policy, the requirements made of leaders, on principles of political, professional and moral suitability, and in harmony with the alliance policy it has made it the practice that, with the exception of party functions, anyone can fill any office or assignment. This is how cadre work is done here. Now we are struggling with such problems as inadequate realization of personal responsibility, a reliance on committees, a postponing of decisions. The party, and society in the given place of work and in the broader sense, cannot tolerate such phenomena. In your comments you formulated this requirement by saying that the responsible leaders should be trusted more. This is certainly true, but we must not forget that what is involved is not the person X or Y but rather the adopting of a historically new system.

Among other things this also means that in accordance with the present requirements of socialist development there must be a further improvement of leadership perceptions and behavior and the readiness to make responsible decisions, and suitable conditions for this must be created.

Not rarely matters suffer delays because the leaders make their decisions only when they have innumerable prior agreements and concurrences. Certainly it does not increase the courage, responsibility or independence of the leader if everyone agrees with his decisions in advance.

For example, a leader cannot give a 300 forint award to someone he thinks worthy of it because this requires, at a minimum, the agreement of the party organization and the trade union. And obviously this is how it is elsewhere and in other questions too. For example, even now, after the simplification which has been carried out, I am told that several dozen concurrences are needed for a building permit. Many sorts of concurrences are needed from those regionally responsible in cadre questions. I think this could be done more flexibly, more rationally. The decision making processes must be accelerated--and not only in regard to building permits and cadre questions of course.

A greater than necessary centralization is also a weakness of our system, although we have improved in a number of ways in recent years. Let us recall here the economic reform introduced 12 years ago. I honestly confess that at the time, when a decision had to be made about it, I was convinced not so much by the scientific theses; rather I was prompted to decide and act by my earlier experience and dissatisfaction, that we were slow and clumsy in economic life and did not work efficiently enough. One cannot guide or lead the economy of the country, which embraces a number of branches and subbranches and many concrete areas and activities, as if it were a single large enterprise. We all know of some famous world firms, but we do not know of any that deal with everything, produce everything from Jonathan apples, through baker's wares, to truck rear axle assemblies. One cannot imagine such universal preparedness and understanding. I have a little self-esteem myself, I certainly respect the members of the Political Committee and the Council of Ministers, but we cannot know everything, cannot decide about everything. For example, it is impossible to decide sensibly from the center, without wasting time, what products an industrial plant should produce, what equipment should be replaced with more modern equipment, where to invest the money, the investment assets. This must be looked at and decided on the spot. In such and similar questions the enterprise leadership can take a stand more practically and more quickly, because they are closer to production, closer to the problems which cannot brook delay, which require objective judgment. The fundamental virtue, strength and superiority of the socialist system must be coupled with flexibility and swifter action. This is why I voted for decentralized guidance.

It is also a weakness of our socialist system--at least in its present condition--that it supports everything and everybody. There has been talk here, in addition to many other factors, about the role of initiative in, the dynamic initiative strength of the capitalist system. What really maintains

the capitalist system is coercion, the drive to get ahead, the struggle for existence. Ours is a more humane system. It is good to know this and see it in practice--it guarantees work and a living, it protects its citizens. General employment is one of our great achievements, and we must maintain it. But just as I respect man, work and the interests of the economy so I consider it an error that the good and the bad live the same way here, he who works and he who only has status. This must be changed, in the interest of the area in question and all working there, in the interest of the entire community. But also in the personal interest of those who are not really needed at the given enterprise, shop or office. Knowing the national manpower situation it is certain that there will be work for them elsewhere, a useful occupation. If such individuals find their place and finally go where they are not simply taking on people but also have real work, and if they do the work regularly and honestly, they will become more valuable members of society. And they will be happier in life too, will prosper more than if they vegetated somewhere as superfluous men.

When I talk with parents about the problems and possibilities of choosing a career I am happy to advise them to educate their children into real, cultured skilled workers. I have lived in capitalism too, and I have much life experience in socialism. I can say with complete conviction that even the factory owner had to listen to the worker--if he did his work honestly--because he could not finish the piece in the place of the worker, and he knew this quite well. In our system the worker is the man who is most free, because the person who provides the work, the person guiding, cannot stand there at the machine, he has a different post, a different task. In socialism a worker need not fear that he will be ousted from his position, have the work taken from his hand, or be looked down on if his opinion seems a bit rough.

It was under entirely different circumstances but I also lived through a time when I was forced to do only imitation work. I finished my apprenticeship as an industrial worker in 1929. Older people know what this year meant in economic life. In Hungary at that time 40 percent of the industrial workers were put on the street overnight. I worked in a little place, in a shop dealing with office machines. This was a small trade then. The workers of the firm were told, they knew how long the orders would last. In order to prolong the possibility of earning bread they made two weeks' work last four weeks. I was never so tired in my life as then. It wore me out more than any period of intense work. I think others find the same thing.

It is a question of social significance that those working in various areas are those suited for it. This applies to scientific life also. It is a fundamental requirement in the cultivation of science that those go there who show promise, who have some talent or inclination to discover new things. Naturally we are for a humane solution to personnel questions. But we must free ourselves of the superstitious belief that if someone goes somewhere he must stay there until judgment day.

If we are to free ourselves of these weaknesses we will need the united strength of the party, government and science; it will require strict, purposeful and certainly long lasting work.

Interest and Incentive

Speaking of the link between life and science I would mention two branches of science which graphically illustrate that if society provides the task then research picks up. One is agricultural science and the other is economics. The first got a great impetus in connection with the socialist reorganization of agriculture and the second in connection with working out the reform of economic guidance. If the development of society puts a question or task on the agenda--and naturally the Central Committee and the Council of Ministers must be listed among the formulators of the task--then everyone is mobilized and results are not lacking either.

It is an important experience, valid for this area also, that one needs patient, persuasive argument, putting forward the socialist ideal. If people are convinced of the correctness of the goals they are able to work effectively for them. In themselves, naturally, beautiful words are not enough. The conditions must be such as to encourage conscientious, quality work. Interest and incentive should be developed accordingly; I am the most convinced believer in this in every area, including scientific research. Among the conditions I also would include what has been said here about the need for an objective evaluation of results.

Our party has been capable of much in the past 25 years; our government has solved many difficult tasks. When our foreign partners bring this up, which they do often with recognition, I always note that this is not the result of some sort of sleight of hand or some special Hungarian inspiration. We learned that necessity is the greatest commander! We also know that one must always face the facts, reality, the problems. Life again gave us a difficult lesson: Solve your problems or stop short. And stopping leads to falling back. This is the greatest coercive factor, which prompts all of us to new efforts, to even more intensive work.

In connection with interest I would like to point out that much is said these days, abroad and at international meetings, about Hungarian agriculture. The successes which are attracting attention can be attributed to the joint effect of a number of circumstances, including the fact that individual, household plot work is organically adapted to socialist foundations. It is extraordinarily important that interest has been built in, to an almost maximal extent, into the activity of the large socialist agricultural operations. Today we can with confidence take anyone to any part of the country, to any producer cooperative, and everywhere he will see and experience the same thing--people are working, the land is properly cultivated, the stock well cared for. This is so because everyone--the members and the employees--has an interest in the final product. This is evident in management, because they see the sense of their work, they are working for results. In the present phase of development socialist awareness and material interest have a joint effect and strengthen each other.

In capitalism the chief fear of man is dismissal, unemployment. There is no greater coercion in capitalism. I learned about unemployment in the capitalist system, I know from experience what it means. There is no such coercive force

in our society, and there will not be. Amidst our socialist relationships self-awareness should take the place of this. But socialist self-awareness is not yet strong enough. The coercion of unemployment no longer exists and that high level of self-awareness which should take the place of, and even more than take the place of, capitalist coercion does not yet exist. It will someday, but it does not as yet.

Somehow we must develop so that there should be an interest in the growth of self-awareness, of responsibility. For example, the sums at our disposal in the budget can be used for rational purposes, and they can be frittered away; we need an interest system which will encourage their being turned to rational purposes.

I give first place to the following among the socialist moral requirements: "If you take a job, do it with integrity." This must be required of everyone, from the scientist to the unskilled worker!

The Hungarian national economy rests on solid foundations. There are many things supporting this. Since 1973 it has withstood the surging waves, unfavorable to us, of the world market, but to a large extent it depends on the world economy. Foreign trade makes up about half of the national income. There are few such countries, except for us, in the world. What we import we must certainly have countervalue for. And in addition we must manage to pay off a part of the debt, with interest. We must live and work under such conditions. Taking all this into consideration, we can justly say: Our economy is viable, its foundations are strong.

Of course, we are very far from being able to say that everything in the economy is good. The picture is quite checkered. We have outstanding enterprises in industry which are holding their own even in the currently sharpened international competition. There are middling ones and there are weak ones too. In general we can speak of agriculture glowingly. The greatest part of its products are such that there are no quantitative limits on our export; even more of them could be sold. But here also it is time to calculate what it costs, we must keep track of economicalness and efficiency. This can be done, because we are ahead scientifically too; trained experts work in agriculture, operations are better organized and easier to survey.

To sum up, our socialist system is politically strong and economically well founded. The chief requirement is that it must work better and more efficiently.

Guidance work also must be done better than heretofore, beginning with the Central Committee and the government all the way to the shop foremen. No one in the world can change the given conditions of the country; only with a swifter and more flexible adaptation to more difficult conditions, only with more demanding work, can we improve the economic balance further and maintain the standard of living achieved.

It also follows from our given conditions that the world market acquisition prices must be better reflected in producer prices and to a certain extent in

consumers prices as well. Without this it would be impossible to maintain the level of supply which is acceptable today, a variety which is adjusted to demand.

Interdependent with these economic questions and the realistic international financial conditions is the fact--announced in the press today--that we have asked for membership in the International Monetary Fund and the International Reconstruction and Development Bank. By this step we want to ensure better operating conditions for the Hungarian economy in the present complex world economic circumstances.

With all that I have said about our policy and our social system I hoped to make you sense that what our party has said thus far it has said seriously, that it has acted accordingly, and will do so in the future.

Concerning Scientific Creative Work

In connection with what has been said about scientific work--and without going into detail--I would note that I am aware of a significant part of the problems raised and I agree with those urging a solution. Perhaps it would be most useful to use the parliamentary method, that is for us to ask for the minutes of the meeting, noting the concrete questions therein, and dealing with them at the appropriate place.

Still, I would like to say something in connection with scientific life. Several speakers have noted how important it is that there be suitable conditions for scientific work. I agree. In the name of the party and government I announce: We consider it our obligation to ensure suitable working conditions. At the same time, together with the extraordinary importance of creative work, I would like to point out that I am interested in the final product, not only in agriculture but in all work, in every activity--in scientific research as well! It is not a matter of indifference how and for what we use science, use the assets available.

I say, not in my quality as a central committee secretary but rather as a Hungarian citizen, that our people are interested primarily not in whether we write good or bad articles about scientific research but rather in "what do I get out of it?". Much of what you deal with is abstract, unknown to the people. But if somebody gets something out of it, then he will say "I respect the scientists." We must accept this, take it to heart, and work in an awareness of it.

Naturally, it was also justly said that we should not look at and favor the practical application of the results of scientific research alone, but should include basic research as well. This also has its function and mission, which it must fulfill. It is true that from the viewpoint of the country what is important is that as much as possible from scientific research should be put into practice, but this requires basic research as well. Without it: the water of life, the spring nourishing the sciences, would dry up.

I also consider it important to continue the old, good traditions. We can count it a very significant achievement that the new Academy, with a socialist

organization, has found its place, functions and works well. This is very essential, there was need for a transformation of its structure, because the old organization was outmoded. But one should not forget that Hungarian science has traditions worthy of respect which must be continued.

A demand was voiced that there should be a better linkage system between the central leadership of the party and scientific circles. We must study this proposal also with great circumspection. I do not speak against it but I call your attention to the fact that we must be careful lest we create superfluous institutions. We should be aware of the fact that such intermediate institutions always have an isolating effect as well.

I would also like to affirm that in keeping with its practice thus far the Central Committee will not undertake in the future either to decide scientific debates. In our opinion if we were to deviate from this practice it would be bad and harmful. Scientific problems must be clarified and decided in the sphere of science and the the debate of scientists.

Our people have won respect before the world with the great common work accomplished. Our position and the judgment of us today cannot even be compared with that of 25 years ago, and even less with the epoch preceding the liberation. Today everyone, at any point in the world, can admit to being a Hungarian with human and civic dignity. We must care for this respect; it can be maintained and enhanced only with honest work, struggling for progress and the good cause.

International Contacts

As for the international situation, we are now living through a bit of a bad course. The present leadership of the United States, in a vain hunt for military superiority, is endangering the accomplishments of the years of detente, endangering the peace of the world. The extreme monopoly capitalist circles do not want to reconcile themselves to the fact that they have suffered the loss of additional positions in various parts of the world; they are incapable of conceiving that social progress, the freedom aspirations of the peoples, cannot be kept back behind national borders. We are convinced that they will not be able to realize their adventurous plans, that they cannot be carried out with the present international power relationships. We are aware that the power relationships which have developed in the world are not realized automatically; in the more tense situation one will not only need good nerves, we must be determined and active in the defense of the accomplishments of detente. Here at home we must work so that our work, our strong internal situation, should provide an adequate underpinning for our stand for peace. I believe that here, before the representatives of Hungarian science, there is no need for special emphasis or proof of how many large common problems mankind has to solve, from overcoming energy problems, through improving foodstuffs supply to developing countries, to protection of the environment. It is also clear what powerful material resources might be released for the solution of these tasks, requiring broad international cooperation, if a brake were put on the arms race, an end ardently desired by us.

It is the position of our party and government, openly announced before the country and the world, that we believe in good relations among the peoples. In accordance with this we are urging mutually profitable cooperation in practice in economic, cultural and other areas. We take a stand on principled foundations for the development of political contacts, and we are for the negotiated settlement of disputed issues. We raise our voice in the interest of this at every international forum and at our bilateral and multilateral meetings. The men of science also can effectively serve understanding and a rapprochement between people and countries. Their words have weight, their international contacts are extensive, in their international contacts they can be at one time ambassadors of science and of peace. So I ask you, let your words be heard for the good cause of our homeland and mankind.

8984

CSO: 2500/173

TEACHER'S CHARTER PASSED BY SEJM

Executive Orders in Preparation

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 Feb 82 p 5

[Article by J. Krasniewski: "Teacher's Charter Now in Effect"]

[Text] DZIENNIK USTAW [Legal Gazette], No 3, dated February 1, 1982, gives the full text of the Teacher's Charter passed by the Sejm on January 26th.

As we already noted, this document defines the many new teacher's entitlements to benefits. Some of them are available immediately, but in most cases it will be necessary to issue at least 35 orders, resolutions, and instructions, and also a good many interpretations and annotations to the law.

This second stage of implementing the Charter is just as important as the preparation of the text of the law. This successive step will also proceed under the direct control of the Sejm.

The entitlements that do not require legal annotations or interpretations include:

- a nonrecurring allowance equal to 2-months' base salary for initial household expenses in undertaking the first job in a school,
- payment for overtime in accordance with the personal classification rate,
- anniversary awards for a minimum of 20-years' service,
- a longevity allowance this year for those with a minimum of 20-years' service, and as of September of next year for the remainder.

In order for the remaining entitlements to become fact, the Council of Ministers was obliged to issue 6 executive orders; the Minister of Education and Upbringing, 21, including 15 in consultation with other concerned ministries; the Minister of Culture and Art, 10; the Minister of Health, 5; and the Minister of Labor, wages and Social Affairs, 1.

Among those waiting for issuance of executive orders are practical vocational science instructors, pedagogical workers from cadre training centers, and professional court-appointed guardians. They were not mentioned directly in the law and an executive order will be required to extend the provisions of the Charter to cover them. The same pertains to teachers in the denominational schools.

The Charter speaks of evaluating the teacher in the school, but ministerial orders will establish the principles and procedures for making this evaluation. The following must be defined: the teaching workload for teachers not mentioned in the law; the principles of remuneration for conducting instruction and upbringing activities on nonwork days; the principles, conditions and procedures for obtaining professional specialty degrees, which the Charter is introducing into the teachers' community for the first time.

The Council of Ministers will define the principles of organization of social services; approve the list of teachers' occupational diseases, the propriety, principles and procedures for appointing a disciplinary commission for teachers, and also the amount of bank credit for those taking jobs in schools in the villages after graduation, and the principles of granting and repaying this credit.

An order, the first of its type in Poland, in which the Minister of Labor will define the principles for comparing the remuneration of engineering-technical workers in industry and teachers, in order to maintain average earnings at the same level, in accordance with article 31 of the Charter, will be received with interest.

It is impossible to mention even the most important duties that the legislature has assigned to the ministries. The Sejm has stipulated that every executive order must be submitted to the trade unions in which the teachers are associated, which will occur after these trade unions have resumed their activity, and to the Sejm commissions.

In view of the deadline specified in the Law, July 31, 1982, the concerned ministries and state institutions have a tremendous amount of legislative work ahead of them. The administration of the Ministry of Education and Upbringing has already looked at the first four draft executive orders.

Final Text of Charter

Warsaw DZIENNIK USTAW in Polish No 3, 1 Feb 82 pp 45-59 Item 19

[Law dated January 26, 1982]

[Text] Teacher's Charter

In consideration of the important role of education and upbringing in the Polish People's Republic, desiring to give expression to the special social significance of the teacher's profession in conformity with needs and

expectations, and paving the way, by this law, for further legal regulations in the system of national education, it is proclaimed as follows:

Chapter 1. Introductory Provisions

Article 1.

The following come under the law:

- 1) teachers, educators and other pedagogical workers of state schools and other educational and training, upbringing and guardian-upbringing centers, established and operating by virtue of the law dated July 15, 1961, on the development of a system of education and upbringing (SZIENNIK USTAW, No 32, item 160; No 12, item 115, 1971; No 16, item 114, 1972; and No 45, item 234, 1975),
- 2) teachers and educators in medical centers, medical-education centers, and medical-care centers,
- 3) teachers, educators and other pedagogical workers in correctional institutions, juvenile shelters, family diagnostic-counseling centers, and schools attached to penal institutions,
- 4) pedagogical workers in school and pedagogical libraries, methodical centers, and vocation-education counseling centers,
- 5) teachers employed in schools and centers which teach arts to children and youth, upbringing centers and guardian-upbringing centers conducted by cooperative societies, social institutions and organizations conducting statutory educational-upbringing activity and arts training,
- 6) teachers employed in organs of the state administration in positions requiring teaching qualifications within the sphere established by the law,
- 7) teachers employed in political and social organizations and in trade unions in positions requiring teaching qualifications within the sphere established by the law.

Article 2.

The provisions of the law, with the exception of articles 50 and 59, do not apply to soldiers on active military duty or to functionaries of the Citizens' Militia and firefighting who are:

- 1) occupying the positions of teachers in military and Ministry of Internal Affairs' schools and educational-upbringing centers,
- 2) assigned to perform duties outside the military and Ministry of Internal Affairs, in the positions mentioned in article 1.

Article 3.

Whenever reference is made in the law to:

- 1) teachers, without closer definition--it is understood to mean the teachers, educators and other pedagogical workers employed in the schools and centers mentioned in article 1, points 1-5,
- 2) schools, without closer definition--it is understood to mean the schools and other centers mentioned in article 1, points 1-5,
- 3) school supervisory organs--until new legal regulations in the field of education and upbringing are issued, it is understood to mean:
 - a) the local organ of state administration of the appropriate rank--in relation to the schools under this organ,
 - b) the appropriate minister or the organizational unit under him which he designates--in relation to schools not under the local organ of state administration,
 - c) the main boards of cooperative societies and social organizations and institutions, as well as denominational societies, conducting statutory educational-upbringing or arts teaching activity or the organizational units which they designate--in relation to schools conducted by these societies, organizations and institutions.
- 4) concerned ministers, without closer definition--it is understood to mean also central organs of cooperative societies and social organizations and institutions conducting statutory educational-upbringing and arts teaching activity.

Article 4.

1. The principle of cooperation in the field of education and upbringing by the organs of state administration with the trade unions in which the teachers are associated, not established in the law on trade unions, are defined in an agreement concluded by the Minister of Education and Upbringing or the appropriate minister with the chief organs of these unions.
2. Orders, resolutions and instructions provided for in the law will be coordinated with the trade unions in which the teachers are associated and submitted to the Sejm commissions before they are issued.

Article 5.

1. The minister of Education and Upbringing, by means of orders, may extend the rules of the law or some of its provisions to:
 - 1) teachers of schools and training centers, and educational-upbringing centers, other than those mentioned in article 1,
 - 2) workers in socialized workplaces, fulfilling the function of practical vocational-science instructors or conducting work with juvenile workers in

collective housing centers, for whom teaching and upbringing work is a basic occupation,

3) pedagogical workers employed in teaching positions in cadre training and advancement centers, in vocational training centers, and professional court-appointed guardians.

2. The Minister of Education and Upbringing, by means of orders, at the proposal of denominational societies conducting schools, educational-upbringing centers and training institutions, will extend the rule of the law of some of its provisions to the teachers and educators employed therein.

Chapter 2. Teachers' Duties

Article 6.

1. A teacher is required to honestly implement the basic function of a school: teaching, upbringing and care; strive for the full development of the student's and his own personality. A teacher should mold and bring up the youth in a love of Fatherland; respect for the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic as a socialist state in the spirit of humanism, tolerance, freedom of conscience, social justice and respect for work; be concerned about shaping the moral and civic attitudes of the students in conformity with the ideals of democracy, peace and friendship among nations.

2. The work of the teacher is subject to evaluation. The evaluation is made during the first 3 years of the teacher's employment in the school, and after this period, at the request of the teacher concerned, or at the initiative of the pedagogical council or the school principal. The evaluation is of a descriptive nature. The principles and procedures of evaluation are defined, by means of an order, in consultation with the concerned ministers, by the Minister of Education and Upbringing; in relation to teachers of arts subjects in art schools, by the Minister of Culture and Art; and in relation to teachers of professional subjects in medical secondary schools, by the Minister of Health and Social Welfare in consultation with the Minister of Education and Upbringing.

Article 7.

1. The school is directed by the principal, who is its representative on the outside, the official superior of all the school employees, and chairman of the pedagogical council. The principal exercises care over the children and youth studying in the school.

2. The school principal is responsible in particular for:

1) the teaching and upbringing level of the school,

2) the accomplishment of tasks in accordance with the resolutions of the pedagogical councils and instructions of the school supervisory organs,

3) creating the conditions necessary for the development of self-governing and autonomous work by students and wards,

4) providing assistance to teachers in the accomplishment of their tasks and in their professional advancement,

5) providing, insofar as possible, the appropriate organizational conditions for accomplishment of teaching and guardian-upbringing tasks.

3. Teachers who have been assigned administrative duties in the school in addition to the duties mentioned in paragraph 2 and in article 6, paragraph 1, are thus performing other tasks connected with the function assigned to them, as specified, in consultation with the concerned ministries, by the Minister of Education and Upbringing, and in relation to teachers in the art schools, by the Minister of Culture and Art.

Article 8.

1. Pedagogical supervision is exercised by teachers appointed and employed in the organs of state administration and in other organs supervising the school in positions requiring teaching qualifications, and by school principals and other teachers performing administrative duties in schools.

2. A detailed list of positions and the scope of duties, rights and qualifications of teachers referred to in paragraph 1, and the principles of exercising pedagogical supervision, are defined, by means of an order, by the Minister of Education and Upbringing, in consultation with concerned ministers, and in relation to teachers exercising supervision over art schools, by the Minister of Culture and Art, in consultation with the Minister of Education and Upbringing.

Chapter 3. Qualification Requirements.

Article 9.

1. The position of a teacher may be occupied by a person who:

1) has a higher education and the appropriate pedagogical preparation or who has completed a teachers' training school and is undertaking a job in a position for which these qualifications are adequate,

2) observes basic moral standards,

3) meets the health requirements indispensable for the performance of professional duties.

2. The Minister of Education and Upbringing, and in relation to art school teachers, the Minister of Culture and Art, in consultation with the concerned ministers, by means of orders, defines the detailed qualifications required of schools and teachers, and the cases where teachers may be employed who do not have a higher education.

3. The Minister of Culture and Art may specify the schools and other art training centers in which the position of teacher may be occupied by persons who completed a grade 2 art school in the field which corresponds to the subject to be taught.

Chapter 4. Establishing, Changing, and Terminating a Work Relationship

Article 10.

1. A work relationship with a teacher is established on the basis of an appointment or a labor contract.

2. A work relationship with a teacher is established by appointment if:

- 1) he is a Polish citizen,
- 2) he is legally competent,
- 3) he has civil rights,
- 4) no penal or incapacitation proceeds are pending against him,
- 5) he has the required qualifications to fill that position,
- 6) he can be employed on a full-time schedule for an indefinite period,
- 7) immediately before appointment he worked without interruption for at least 2 years on a full-time basis in a teaching job in which he was satisfactorily evaluated. If, during a period of 3 years from the date of employment a mandatory performance evaluation was not conducted on the teacher, and he meets the remaining conditions required for appointment, he is appointed by virtue of the law,
- 8) he is resuming work in the teaching profession, if he was an appointed teacher previously and the break in service did not exceed 5 years, and in the case of a longer interruption, if he worked as a teacher during this period.

3. A work relationship with a teacher who does not meet all the conditions specified in paragraph 2 is established on the basis of a labor contract, except that a work relationship cannot be established with a person who does not meet the conditions mentioned in paragraph 2, points 2-4.

4. A teacher may be employed for a definite period only if such a need arises in the teaching organization or if substitution for an absent teacher is involved.

5. With those persons for whom work in the school is additional employment, labor contracts are concluded.

Article 11.

1. Teachers are appointed or labor contracts concluded by the organ which directly supervises the school in which the teacher is to be employed, by agreement with the principal of this school or at his request.
2. The organ referred to in paragraph 1 may authorize the school principal, at his request, to conclude labor contracts with teachers.

Article 12.

1. Appointed teachers are not subject to the official channels specified in other rules of law for appointed state functionaries.
2. A teacher, in the implementation of the teaching program, has the right to freely apply such teaching and upbringing methods as he deems most appropriate from among those recognized by contemporary pedagogical science and to select textbooks and teaching aids from among those approved for school use.
3. A teacher should improve his general and professional knowledge by taking advantage of his entitlement to preference in participation in all forms of professional advancement at the highest level.

Article 13.

A work relationship based on an appointment is established on the day specified in the appointment order, and if a day has not been specified, on the day the order is delivered, or on the day the appointment is made by virtue of the law in accordance with article 10, paragraph 2, point 7.

Article 14.

The appointment order and the labor contract should specifically state:

- 1) the position and place of work,
- 2) the day the work is to begin,
- 3) the remuneration or the principles under which it will be established.

Article 15.

When appointments to a teaching position are made, the person being appointed takes an oath as follows:

"I will honestly fulfill my duty as a teacher, educator and protector of youth, strive to fully develop the personality of the student and my own, mold and educate the young generation in the spirit of love of the Fatherland, respect for the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic, in accordance with the principles of humanism, social justice and freedom of conscience."

Article 16.

An appointment or labor contract expires if the newly employed teacher does not explain, within 7 days, his failure to report for work, unless the specific rules state otherwise.

Article 17.

1. The school supervisory organ assigns administrative duties only to active, appointed teachers, both in the same school or another school, after receipt of a favorable opinion from the pedagogical council.

2. The requirement that the opinion of the pedagogical council must be obtained does not pertain to assignments to administrative duties in newly organized schools.

3. The school supervisory organ which assigns an administrative function in a school to a teacher may remove him from this function at the end of the school year after issuing a 3-months' written notice, and in especially warranted cases, during the school year also.

4. Teachers to whom administrative functions have been assigned in schools are entitled, according to the function, to official titles: principal, vice principal or director.

5. Only appointed teachers may be employed in organs of state administration in positions requiring pedagogical qualifications.

6. Teachers referred to in paragraph 5 receive unpaid leave during the time they are occupying these positions.

Article 18.

1. An appointed teacher may be transferred at his own request or by the administration, with his consent, to another position in the same or another school, in the same or another locality, to the same or another position.

2. The administrative transfer of a teacher, as defined in paragraph 1, to another locality, may take place on condition:

1) that the teacher is provided, at his new place of work, housing appropriate to his family status, and a job for his spouse, if he is a teacher.

2) that the teacher is reimbursed for his moving costs in accordance with the principles defined in article 21, paragraph 1, and that he is also granted a relocation allowance equivalent to 2-months of his most recent base pay and allowances.

3. The rules of paragraph 1 and 2 apply correspondingly in transferring a teacher to a school that is supervised by another organ, and the rule of paragraph 2 also applies in a case where a teacher is transferred with his consent to work in local organs of state administration.

Article 19.

1. Should it be necessary to ensure that the school will be staffed with teachers of the qualifications that meet the needs of the school's program, a teacher may be transferred to that school without his consent, but for a period not to exceed 3 years, with the right to return to his former position.

2. In the case described in paragraph 1 pertaining to work in another school in another place, the teacher is entitled to:

- 1) a 4-day workweek,
- 2) a 20-percent base pay hardship differential,
- 3) official housing at the place of temporary employment, irrespective of the housing he may have on general principles.

Article 20.

1. In a case where organizational changes are occurring which totally or partially eliminate a school, making it impossible for an appointed teacher to continue to be employed in that school and the teacher does not consent to a transfer to another position in this school or to another school in this same or another locality, to the same or another position, the school supervisory organ must, at the teacher's request, transfer him to an inactive status, which may not last longer than 6 months, or terminate the work relationship and pay him severance pay equivalent to 6 months' base pay.

2. A teacher in an inactive status retains his entitlement to base pay and other work benefits.

3. In a case where it becomes possible to re-employ the teacher in the same school in the same position, the school supervisory organ is obliged to employ the teacher who is on inactive status on a first-preference basis. In a case where the teacher refuses to take the job, the work relationship expires on the date of refusal.

Article 21.

1. In the case of a transfer, the teacher is entitled to reimbursement for moving expenses in accordance with the principles defined in separate rules for workers in state offices.

2. A teacher changing his place of residence in connection with a transfer is excused from his official duties for an appropriate amount of time, not to exceed 7 days.

Article 22.

A teacher may be required to work in another school in the same locality and in the same or, with his consent, another position, to complete the required

teaching (upbringing) workload, in an amount no greater than one-half of his permanent workload. In a case where a teacher does not give his consent, he receives pay proportionate to the workload performed.

Article 23.

1. The work relationship with an appointed teacher is terminated:

1) at the teacher's application,

2) in the case of the teacher's temporary inability to work due to personal illness, if the period of this illness exceeds 1 year. In especially warranted cases, upon confirmation by a medical commission that there has been an improvement in health and that work can be resumed, the period of absence from work due to illness may be extended above 1 year, but to no more than 2 years, counting the combined period of illness and recuperative leave.

3) in the case where a medical commission for disability and employment affairs rules that the teacher is permanently disabled and cannot work full time in the position he occupies,

4) at the end of the school year in which the teacher reached retirement age, if the period of employment enables him to become eligible for a pension when he reaches this age. If, when he reached retirement age the teacher does not have a right to a pension, the work relationship should not be terminated until he obtains this right, but for a period not to exceed 5 years from the attainment of retirement age. The school supervisory organ authorized to appoint, may, with the consent of the teacher, in cases warranted by cadre needs, extend the period of employment.

5) in the case where it has been shown that the teacher has failed to fulfill his official duties.

2. The application to terminate the work relationship should be submitted by the appointed teacher in writing, no later than 3 months before the beginning of the summer vacation. Termination of a work relationship with an appointed teacher, at his application, occurs on August 31st. In a school where lessons are on an entire calendar-year basis, the work relationship may be terminated by the appointed teacher at any time with 3 months' notice.

3. Referral of a teacher by the appropriate organ as defined in article 11, for examination by a medical commission on disability and employment affairs, may be made at anytime at the initiative of the teacher or administratively; the unexcused failure of the teacher referred administratively for examination to report for that examination, gives the appropriate school supervisory organ the right to terminate the work relationship.

4. Termination of a work relationship, as specified in paragraph 1, point 4, should take place after prior 3-months' notice.

5. Termination of a work relationship with a teacher by reason of his failure to perform his official duties takes place at the end of the school

year, with 3-months' written notice, after the teacher has twice received, at intervals no shorter than 1 year and no longer than one and a half years, an unsatisfactory performance evaluation as specified in article 24.

6. The work relationship with the teacher may also be terminated by mutual agreement.

Article 24.

1. The organ directly supervising the school, on the basis of an opinion from the school principal and his own representative, may determine that the teacher's work performance is unsatisfactory.

2. The organ directly supervising the school must notify the teacher of the unsatisfactory evaluation of his work, giving the reasons, with a warning that the next unsatisfactory evaluation will cause the work relationship to be terminated.

3. If the unsatisfactory evaluation was not made by the chief (central) organ supervising the school, the teacher has the right to appeal within 14 days from the date of notice about the unfair, in his opinion, evaluation, to the organ directly above the one that determined the evaluation.

4. A teacher whose work has already once been unsatisfactorily evaluated, may name an appointed teacher of the same subject to participate in the second evaluation. The teacher is given 14 days' notice of the intent to make such an evaluation.

5. In the case of an appeal by a teacher from an unsatisfactory evaluation warranting termination of a work relationship, the work relationship cannot be terminated until this appeal is decided.

Article 25.

The decision on terminating a work relationship with a teacher on the basis of article 23, is issued by the organ authorized to appoint the teacher, as specified in this article.

Article 26.

1. The work relationship with an appointed teacher ceases to exist by virtue of law in case of:

1) valid punishment in the form of a disciplinary penalty consisting of dismissal from the job or expulsion from the teaching profession,

2) valid punishment consisting of loss of civil rights or loss of the right to perform the duties of the profession,

3) after a lapse of a 3-months' period of a jail sentence,

4) ascertainment that the appointment was made on the basis of false or invalid documents,

5) upon expiration of a 6-months' period of inactive status.

2. Cessation of a work relationship in the cases specified in paragraph 1 is ascertained by the organ authorized to appoint the teacher.

Article 27.

1. A labor contract concluded with a teacher for an indefinite period may be terminated by both parties at the end of the school year on 3-months' notice. The condition of termination of a labor contract at the end of the school year does not apply to teachers in schools where lessons are held throughout the entire calendar year.

2. A labor contract for an indefinite period may be terminated at any time and without notice in the case of inability to work due to illness of a duration longer than 1 year, unless in exceptionally warranted cases the appropriate medical commission certifies the ability to resume work in the teaching profession. In this case, the period of absence from work due to illness may be extended to 2 years, including convalescence leave.

Article 28.

1. An appointed teacher with whom a work relationship was terminated for the reason specified in article 23, paragraph 1, point 3, is entitled to severance pay equivalent to 1 month of his last base pay at the time the work relationship was in effect, for each full year of teaching work counted in the pedagogical work periods as defined in regulations issued on the basis of article 36, but not exceeding 6 months' base pay.

2. An appointed teacher with whom a work relationship is being terminated for the reasons specified in article 70, paragraph 2, and to whom the appropriate school supervisory organ did not offer a job in accordance with his qualifications, is entitled to severance pay as specified in paragraph 1, but not exceeding:

- 1) 3-months' base pay if the period of teaching work did not exceed 10 years,
- 2) 6-months' base pay if the period of teaching work exceeded 10 years.

3. The severance pay specified in paragraphs 1 and 2 is paid in monthly installments, corresponding to the amounts of monthly base pay.

Chapter 3. Working Conditions and Remuneration

Article 29.

1. The school supervisory organ must provide basic conditions for accomplishment of didactic, upbringing and custodial tasks.

2. The teacher is entitled to the accoutrements of his position which will enable him to implement the didactic-upbringing teaching program.

3. The Minister of Education and Upbringing, in consultation with the concerned ministers, and in relation to art schools, the Minister of Culture and Art, will define the basic conditions indispensable for the accomplishment by schools and teachers of the tasks and programs referred to in paragraphs 1 and 2.

Article 30.

1. The teacher's remuneration is made up of base salary and allowances.
2. The amount of the base salary is dependent on the teacher's level of education and number of years of work, and the allowances are dependent on the duties performed, the position occupied, working conditions, attained work results, and special qualifications.

Article 31.

1. A teacher advances to the next higher level of base pay every 2 years. The expectation period for attainment of the highest level of base pay cannot exceed 30 years of pedagogical work.
2. Beginning September 1, 1983, the average salary of a teacher cannot be lower than the average salary of engineering-technical workers employed in socialized industry. The principles for comparing the levels of these salaries are defined by means of orders from the Minister of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs, in consultation with the Minister of Education and Upbringing.
3. Equalization of average teachers' salaries with average salaries of engineering-technical workers will take place in installments until September 1, 1983.
4. The increase in the average of the teachers' salaries to the average of engineering-technical workers' salaries in socialized industry should take place annually on September 1st.
5. Teachers' salaries are subject to revalorization annually on general principles.

Article 32.

1. Teachers who have been assigned administrative duties in the school are entitled to a duty allowance.
2. Teachers who are assigned substitute administrative duties are also entitled to duty allowance. In these cases, the right to an allowance accrues from the first day of the month after a 1-month period of fulfilling these duties has elapsed, and expires with the first day of the month following the cessation of performance of these duties.
3. Teachers referred to in article 1, point 6, are entitled to an official allowance.

Article 33.

1. Teachers are entitled to a longevity allowance for uninterrupted work in a school, called a seniority increment, amounting to 1 percent of the base pay for each year's work, paid in monthly periods beginning with the fourth year of work, except that this allowance cannot exceed 20 percent of the base pay.
2. Entitlement to a longevity allowance accrues to teachers employed more than 20 years, from January 1, 1982, and for others, from September 1, 1983.
3. Special cases where employment periods are counted for purpose of longevity allowances are defined by the Minister of Education and Upbringing, in consultation with the Minister of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs.

Article 34.

1. Teachers working under difficult and arduous conditions and under conditions that are harmful to health are entitled to the allowances mentioned in paragraphs 2 and 3.
2. A list of difficult and arduous working conditions constituting a basis for awarding allowances for this reason and the detailed principles for paying these allowances are defined by the Minister of Education and Upbringing, in consultation with the Minister of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs and concerned ministers.
3. A list of jobs in which conditions are harmful to health, with indication of the degree of their harmfulness, constituting a basis for award of an allowance for this reason, and the detailed principles for paying these allowances are defined by the Minister of Health and Social Welfare in consultation with the Ministers of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs, and Education and Upbringing.

Article 35.

1. In specific cases dictated exclusively by the necessity to implement the teaching program or to ensure care in custodial-upbringing centers, the teacher may be required to work paid overtime hours in accordance with his specialty, in a number not to exceed one-fourth of his required weekly workload. A teacher may be assigned a larger number of overtime hours only with his consent, and not to exceed one-half of his required weekly workload.
2. In especially warranted cases, the teacher may work overtime in an amount exceeding one-half of his required workload, but only with the consent of the appropriate supervisory organ at the voivodship or central level with the approval of the pedagogical council.
3. By an overtime hour it is understood to mean an hour of teaching or upbringing work beyond the required weekly load of teaching or upbringing work.

4. Remuneration for overtime work assigned to the teacher in the school's organizational plan, is paid at the teacher's personal classification rate, including the allowances referred to in article 34, also in the case of an excused failure to perform the duties.

5. Hours of didactic, upbringing or custodial work, efficiently worked by the teacher as an emergency substitute, are paid according to the hourly overtime rates applicable to him.

6. Women who are pregnant or who are caring for children up to age 4, may not be employed overtime without their consent.

Article 36.

The amount of the base salary rates, allowances, remuneration for additional duties, principles of classification and the awarding of allowances, for the remuneration of teachers, are defined by the Council of Ministers, except that remuneration for additional duties, i.e. teaching a class or conducting special-interest or subject circles or groups, is due beginning January 1, 1983.

Article 37.

Teachers' base salaries, all allowances, payment for overtime hours, additional allowances for didactic work and awards, as defined in the law and the regulations issued on the basis of article 36, are exempt from taxes on remuneration.

Article 38.

The teacher acquires the right to be remunerated as of the date the work relationship is established.

Article 39.

1. A change in the amount of remuneration during the work relationship as a result of promotion or other reasons, is made on the first day of the next calendar month, if the promotion or other reasons did not take place on the first day of that calendar month.

2. In the case of a change of work locality, which carries with it a change in the amount of remuneration, the right to remuneration corresponding to the new work locality accrues from the first day of the calendar month following the assumption of duties in the new work locality, if the assumption of these duties did not begin as of the first day of that calendar month.

3. Salaries are paid monthly in advance. Other remunerations, whose amounts can be established only on the basis of duties already performed, are paid monthly or once only at the end of the month.

Article 40.

The right to be remunerated expires on the last day of the calendar month in which the expiration or termination of the work relationship occurred.

Article 41.

The teacher retains the right to be paid for excused absences from work if the provisions of the law do not specify otherwise.

Article 42.

1. The weekly required teaching (upbringing) workload of lessons conducted directly with students or wards for teachers employed on a full-time basis, is established according to the following norms:

1) teachers of preschools with the exception of teachers working with groups of 6-year-old--25 hours;

2) teachers of preschools and other preschool centers working with groups of 6-year-old--22 hours;

3) teachers of special preschools, elementary schools, special schools, general high schools, theoretical subjects in vocational schools, special vocational schools and crafts training in institutions for juveniles, arts and general subjects in art schools and other art training centers--18 hours;

4) teachers of the following studies: preschool upbringing, cultural-emotional and library, and teachers of theoretical subjects in pedagogical technical studies--15 hours;

5) teachers of practical vocational science in all types of schools--22 hours;

6) educators in school clubrooms and day schools (with the exception of special-school clubrooms)--26 hours;

7) educators in boarding schools, pupils' hostels, children's play parks, station clubrooms- permanent school youth hostels--30 hours;

8) educators in school-upbringing centers--28 hours;

9) educators in custodial and upbringing institutions in:

a) children's homes and medical-care institutions for children--26 hours;
b) children's holiday homes--26 hours; including for didactic work--10 hours;

c) special medical-upbringing institutions, institutions for vocational rehabilitation of the disabled, special and upbringing centers, correctional institutions, hostels for juveniles, special-school clubrooms, emergency care centers, family diagnostic-counseling centers--24 hours;

10) teachers in youth palaces, youth cultural clubs, afterschool activities centers, afterschool special-activities centers, intermural sports centers, conducting work directly with children and youth by a laboratory system--18 hours;

11) teachers-librarians in school libraries--30 hours.

2. The Minister of Education and Upbringing specifies the number of students for whom one permanent teacher-librarian should be assigned.

3. The teaching (upbringing) workload, specified in paragraph 1, is required as of September 1, 1983. Until then the teaching (upbringing) workload as specified in past regulations is required, except for teacher-librarians in school libraries, for whom the weekly number of hours stated in paragraph 1, point 11, is required starting September 1, 1982.

4. In addition to conducting teaching-upbringing work in the required weekly workload, the teacher is required to:

1) do the work related directly with the organization of the teaching-upbringing and custodial process, within the limits of the base salary to which he is entitled,

2) to conduct other additional teaching-upbringing work on a compensatory basis.

The assignment of work and lessons referred to in points 1 and 2 is made by the school principal in coordination with the pedagogical council.

5. The list of work and lessons referred to in paragraph 4 is defined by the Minister of Education and Upbringing in consultation with concerned ministers.

6. Teachers, for whom the established plan of lessons in certain periods of the school year did not exhaust the teaching load requirements for this teacher, should teach for correspondingly more hours during other periods of that school year. Work performed in accordance with such a plan does not qualify as overtime work.

7. For principals and vice principals of schools and teachers performing other administrative duties in schools, the required workload specified in paragraph 1 is reduced by amounts which depend on the size and type of the school and the working conditions. This applies also to teachers who perform administrative duties as substitutes for teachers who have been assigned these duties.

8. The principles for granting the reduction and the amounts of the reductions referred to in paragraph 7 are defined by the Minister of Education and Upbringing in consultation with concerned ministers and in relation to art schools, by the Minister of Culture and Art, in consultation with the Minister of Education and Upbringing.

9. The required teaching workload for teachers in schools not mentioned in paragraph 1, including teachers of correspondence schools, teachers of subjects with various teaching loads, pedagogues, psychologists, librarians of pedagogical libraries, and other workers employed in education-upbringing positions, and the principles for counting the individual lessons in correspondence training as part of the teaching load, are defined, by means of orders, by the Minister of Education and Upbringing in consultation with the Minister of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs and other concerned ministers, and in relation to art school teachers, by the Minister of Culture and Art.

Article 43.

1. The appropriate minister or organ authorized by him may, for a teacher employed on a full workload basis, reduce the required teaching load for a specific time or until revocation, due to reasons of health, training, or advancement, performance of teaching duties or work as instructed by school authorities, or due to the teacher's particular working conditions in the school, or because the teacher is conducting lessons in classes or exercise groups.

2. A reduction in workload may not cause a reduction in remuneration or restrict the teacher's other entitlements.

3. A teacher whose workload has been reduced may not work overtime, taking into consideration the provisions of paragraph 4.

4. Teachers referred to in article 42, paragraph 7, and teachers whose required weekly workload has been reduced because they are conducting activities in classes or exercise groups, may, in warranted cases, due to the school's organizational needs, work overtime on the principles and in the amounts specified by the Minister of Education and Upbringing, and in relation to art schools, by the Minister of Culture and Art.

Article 44.

1. The Minister of Education and Upbringing, in consultation with concerned ministers, specifies the schools, positions and conditions under which a teacher may be required to implement the weekly required teaching (upbringing) load at night also.

2. Night work entitles the teacher to a separate allowance, specified in the regulations on remunerating teachers.

3. A teacher is required to work a 5-day week.

4. In schools in which work is conducted on all days of the week, the teacher may have, at least once every two weeks, two successive days off from work, of which one should fall on a Sunday. This does not apply to teachers working in a correspondence training system.

5. For teaching-upbringing or custodial activity performed on a day off from work, the teacher obtains another day off from work, and in particularly warranted cases, separate pay instead of a day off.

6. For work on a holiday which falls outside the two days a week off from work, the teacher receives another day off from work, and in particularly warranted cases, instead of a day off, pay at a 100 percent increase.

7. The Minister of Education and Upbringing, and in relation to art schools, the Minister of Culture and Art, in consultation with the Minister of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs, defines the principles of remuneration for teaching-upbringing work performed on the days off from work referred to in paragraph 5.

Article 45.

1. A teacher may, outside his required teaching load, with the permission of the principal, take additional paid employment not conflicting with his duties in an amount not exceeding his required workload by one-half.

2. Cases in which the permission referred to in paragraph 1 is not required and the principles for granting such permission are defined by the Minister of Education and Upbringing in consultation with the Minister of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs.

Article 46.

1. Teachers may obtain professional specialty degrees.

2. The detailed principles, conditions and procedures for obtaining the degrees referred to in paragraph 1 are defined by the Minister of Education and Upbringing in consultation with concerned ministers.

Chapter 6. Awards and Decorations

Article 47.

1. For many years of service, teachers obtain anniversary awards amounting to:

- 1) for 20 years of service - 75 percent of a month's salary,
- 2) for 25 years of service - 100 percent of a month's salary,
- 3) for 30 years of service - 150 percent of a month's salary,
- 4) for 35 years of service - 200 percent of a month's salary.

2. The entitlements referred to in paragraph 1 become effective as of January 1, 1982.

Article 48.

Beginning January 1, 1982, teachers are entitled to an institution award fund, defined in the law dated June 23, 1973 on the principles of creating and distributing an institution award fund and an institution social and housing

fund DZIENNIK USTAW, No 27, item 150). The institution award fund is created in the amount of 3 percent for 1981 and 8.5 percent for the following years.

Article 49.

1. A special award fund is maintained for teachers for their teaching-upbringing achievements in the amount of 1 percent of the planned annual personnel wage fund.
2. The Minister of Education and Upbringing defines the rules for distributing this fund.

Article 50.

1. The honorary title "Meritorious Teacher of the Polish People's Republic" will be awarded to meritorious teachers for particularly distinguished achievements during many years of pedagogical work.
2. The honorary title "Meritorious Teacher of the Polish People's Republic" is awarded by the Council of State.
3. The Council of State decides:
 - 1) the design of the insignia of the honorary title,
 - 2) the procedure for presenting proposals for granting an honorary title,
 - 3) the procedure for presenting the insignia and diploma in bestowing the honorary title,
 - 4) how the insignia of the honorary title is to be worn.

Article 51.

1. The "Commission for National Education Medal" will be awarded to teachers and other persons for exceptional service in education and upbringing.
2. The "Commission for National Education Medal" will be awarded by the Minister of Education and Upbringing.
3. The chairman of the Council of Ministers, at the proposal of the Minister of Education and Upbringing, presented in consultation with concerned ministers, defines the detailed principles for awarding the "Commission for National Education Medal," the procedures for submitting proposals, the design of the medal, the procedures for presenting it, and how it is to be worn.

Article 52.

1. The Gold Cross of Merit is awarded for 20 years of distinguished pedagogical work.
2. For 30 years of exceptionally distinguishing pedagogical work, teachers will be awarded the Cavalier Cross of the Order of Polonia Restituta [Rebirth of Poland].

3. The rules of paragraphs 1 and 2 also apply to teachers who are pensioners or annuitants, regardless of the date they became pensioners or annuitants.

Chapter 7. Social Entitlements and Leaves

Article 53.

1. A social fund, amounting to 5 percent of the planned annual personnel wage fund, is being created for teachers.
2. A social fund, amounting to 5 percent of the pension and annuity fund, is being created for teachers who are pensioners and annuitants.
3. A housing fund, amounting to 3 percent of the planned annual personnel wage fund, is being created for teachers.
4. Local organs of state administration are creating social staffs appointed to manage these funds.
5. The Council of Ministers defines the principles of organization of social staffs and the methods of utilizing the funds referred to in paragraphs 1-3.
6. Implementation of the provisions referred to in paragraphs 1-4 may take place no later than January 1, 1984.

Article 54.

1. Teachers employed in all villages and in towns with no more than 5,000 inhabitants are entitled to free housing in the locality where they work, in accordance with population density norms no lower than those prevailing and the average standard of housing for that locality. Annexing a village to a town with a population of over 5,000 inhabitants or annexing a village to a number of towns, or an increase in the number of inhabitants in a town to above 5,000, does not deprive the teacher of the right that he has acquired to free housing.
2. The entitlements referred to in paragraph 1 should be implemented primarily by assigning teachers housing in school buildings and buildings used by schools, or in buildings which are under the management of the local organs of state administration.
3. In case of lack of housing in the buildings mentioned in paragraph 2, the local organs of state administration of basic rank are required to enter into contracts for rental housing with owners of houses in order to provide housing for teachers in their work locality, and if this is not possible, in other localities in which a daily commute to their job is possible, with reimbursement of commute costs by this organ.
4. If the local organ of state administration cannot implement the entitlement of the teacher to free housing as specified in paragraphs 2 and 3, or the teacher does not take advantage of the entitlement due him, this organ is required to pay the teacher an appropriate allowance.

5. The amount of the allowance referred to in paragraph 4 and the principles for its payment are defined by the Minister of Education and Upbringing, in consultation with the Minister of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs.

6. The entitlements described in paragraph 1 for active teachers of schools located in all villages and in towns of up to 5,000 inhabitants are due also to teachers who are drawing a pension, if immediately before they became pensioners they worked in the mentioned localities for at least 5 years. The 5-year condition does not apply to teachers who were administratively transferred to these localities or to teachers who are annuitants. These entitlements are also due teachers who are pensioners or annuitants regardless of the date they became pensioners or annuitants.

7. Teachers employed in all villages and in towns of up to 5,000 inhabitants are paid, as of September 1, 1983, a separate monthly allowance amounting to 10 percent of their monthly base pay.

Article 55.

The local organs of state administration of basic rank will ensure that teachers employed and living in the villages can purchase fuel according to the norms established for the town population and that this fuel is delivered to the teacher's house without delivery charges.

Article 56.

1. A teacher employed in a village is entitled to a plot of land on school grounds for his personal use and that of his family.

2. Local organs of state administration of basic rank will allocate, insofar as possible, the necessary area of land if the school grounds are not large enough to implement the entitlement specified in paragraph 1, but the land area should not be larger than 0.25 hectares.

Article 57.

Teachers are entitled to additional living space in the form of an additional room. If the regulations in effect provide for higher payments because of the additional room, the teachers are exempt from paying this additional amount. The principles of allocation of additional living space are defined by the Minister of Education and Upbringing in consultation with the Minister of Administration, Local Economy and Environmental Protection.

Article 58.

Housing in school buildings and buildings used by schools may be occupied only by teachers and workers employed in the schools.

Article 59.

Children of teachers, all other conditions being equal with those of other children, are entitled to preference in admission to preschools, boarding schools, pupils' hostels, and high schools.

Article 60.

The entitlements described in articles 55-58 are also due teachers who become pensioners or annuitants, and the entitlements described in article 59 are due their children.

Article 61.

1. Teachers who are taking their first job in a school, receive a nonrecurring allowance to set up housekeeping, equivalent to 2 months of the base pay to which they are entitled.

2. The allowance referred to in paragraph 1 must be refunded if the teacher terminates the work relationship or is discharged for cause before he has worked 3 years. In warranted cases, the immediate school supervisory organ, in consultation with trade unions, may exempt the teacher totally or in part from the requirement of refunding the allowance.

3. Teachers who have a graduation diploma from a higher school or from another school entitling them to work in the teaching profession, who are taking a job in a village or in a town of up to 3,000 inhabitants, in positions corresponding to their qualifications, are granted additional material assistance for establishing a household in the form of bank credit. The amount of credit and the principles under which it is granted, paid or amortized, are defined by the Council of Ministers.

Article 62.

A teacher who maintains a work relationship, and also after he begins drawing a pension or a disability pension, as well as his spouse, is entitled to a reduced fare in railway travel, on the principles defined by the Council of Ministers.

Article 63.

A teacher, in connection with performance of his official duties, is entitled to the protection provided for state officials. The school supervisory organs are officially required to appear in the defense of teachers if the rights established for them are violated.

Article 64.

1. A teacher employed in a school in which the organization of work provides summer and winter vacations, is entitled to a rest leave in an amount corresponding to the vacation period and during that period.

2. The teacher referred to in paragraph 1 may be required by the principal to perform the following work during these vacation periods:

- 1) conduct examinations,
- 2) perform work connected with the end of the school, and in preparation for the new school year.

These activities may not take more than 7 days of the teacher's time.

3. Teachers employed in schools where school vacations are not provided, are entitled to a rest leave amounting to 6 weeks, at a time established in the leave schedule.

4. The teacher is entitled to at least 4 weeks of uninterrupted rest leave within the amount of rest leave provided for in paragraphs 1 and 3.

5. Teachers employed in a school for a definite period of less than 10 months, are entitled to a rest leave in an amount proportionate to the period of time worked.

Article 65.

A teacher employed in a school in which the work organization provides for school vacations, obtains the right to his first leave of the last day preceding the school holidays, and the right to the next and further leaves in every subsequent calendar year.

Article 66.

1. In a case where a rest leave has been fully or partially unused during the period of the school holidays due to inability to work caused by illness or quarantine in connection with a contagious disease, maternity leave, military exercises, or short-term military training, the teacher is entitled to a leave during the school year, in a make-up amount of up to 8 weeks.

2. In a case where the rest leave is not used because of termination or expiration of the work relationship, callup to basic military service or to perform replacement duty in this service, callup to temporary military service or for long-term military training, the teacher is entitled to a money equivalent for the period of unused leave, but not more than 8 weeks for the teacher referred to in article 64, paragraph 1, and not more than 6 weeks for the teacher referred to in article 64, paragraph 3, if the termination of the job relationship did not occur for reasons which would cause forfeiture of entitlement to rest leave.

3. In matters referred to in paragraphs 1 and 2, the date of eligibility for entitlement to a make-up 8-week leave and to the money equivalent in this amount is established to be January 1, 1982.

Article 67.

During the period of the rest leave, the teacher is entitled to remuneration in the same amounts that he would receive if he were working during this period. The variable components of remuneration are calculated on the basis of average remuneration for the 10-months' period preceding the month in which the leave began.

Article 68.

1. A teacher employed full-time is entitled to paid leave for further schooling and to other reliefs and benefits in connection with this schooling. A

teacher may obtain a paid or unpaid leave for scientific, artistic or educational purposes, and an unpaid leave for other important reasons.

2. The Council of Ministers defines the principles for granting the leaves, reliefs and benefits referred to in paragraph 1, and specifies the organs authorized to issue decisions in these matters.

Article 69.

1. A teacher is paid the same remuneration during a maternity leave as for a rest leave.

2. In a case where the working hours of a mother nursing a child exceed 4 hours of continuous work daily, she is entitled to a 1-hour break counted as work time.

Article 70.

1. An appointed teacher who has applied for a transfer to a locality which is the place of permanent residence of his spouse, if the application for transfer cannot be considered because of the inability to employ him in the teaching profession at the place of permanent residence of the spouse, is granted an unpaid leave or transferred to inactive status by the school supervisory organ.

2. The period of unpaid leave referred to in paragraph 1 cannot exceed 2 years. If during this period the teacher has not returned to work, the work relationship is subject to termination. Should it become possible to re-employ him, he should be given first preference.

Chapter 8. Health Protection

Article 71.

Teachers employed in all villages and in towns numbering up to 5,000 inhabitants, are reimbursed for costs of transportation by public means to a doctor or hospital in order to obtain medical assistance for themselves and immediate family members.

Article 72.

1. Irrespective of the entitlement of the teacher and members of his family to medical care and medicines on the principles defined in the regulations on social insurance, school supervisory organs will each year earmark in the budget the appropriate funds for health care for teachers using health care facilities.

2. The Council of Ministers, by means of orders, defines the list of teachers' occupational diseases.

3. The Minister of Health and Social Welfare, in consultation with concerned ministers, defines the form of specialized preventive and medical assistance for teachers.

4. The entitlements referred to in paragraph 1 in article 71 are retained by the teachers after they have become pensioners or annuitants irrespective of the date they became pensioners or annuitants.

Article 73.

1. A teacher employed on a full workload basis, after working at least 3 years in a school, may be granted paid sick leave by the immediate school supervisory organ for a period of up to 1 year if the social health service organ certifies that the teacher's state of health prevents him from working and that he must undergo prescribed treatment. If, however, less than 1 year remains before he is eligible for retirement, a paid sick leave cannot be granted for a period longer than to the end of the calendar month preceding the month in which the teacher retires.

2. The procedures and methods of conduct of social health service organs in the matters referred to in paragraph 1 are defined by the Minister of Health and Social Welfare, in consultation with the Minister of Education and Upbringing.

Chapter 9. National Education Day

Article 74.

National Education Day will be observed each year on October 14th, the anniversary day of the creation of the Commission for National Education. National Education Day is recognized as a holiday for all education workers and is a nonwork day.

Chapter 10. Disciplinary Liability

Article 75.

1. Appointed teachers are subject to disciplinary action if they transgress the dignity of the teaching profession or the duties referred to in article 6, paragraph 1.

2. Disciplinary penalties, in accordance with the Labor Code, will be administered against teachers or transgressions against work discipline, within the meaning of article 108 of the Labor Code.

Article 76.

1. Disciplinary punishment for teachers is:

- 1) reprimand with warning,
- 2) reprimand with transfer to another school in the same or another locality,

- 3) dismissal from job,
- 4) expulsion from the teaching profession.

2. Disciplinary punishment is administered by a disciplinary commission.

3. The administration of disciplinary punishment described in paragraph 1, point 4, is equivalent to a prohibition against accepting the person punished for work in the teaching profession.

4. The administration of disciplinary punishment described in paragraph 1, point 3, is equivalent to a prohibition against accepting the person punished for work in the teaching profession for a period of 3 years after the punishment.

5. A copy of the ruling, together with the grounds for it, is placed in the teacher's personnel file.

Article 77.

1. Teachers' disciplinary matters are decided at the first instance by:

- 1) a disciplinary commission at the organs of the state administration of voivodship rank for teachers of schools that are directly or indirectly under this organ,
- 2) a disciplinary commission at the appropriate ministries for teachers of schools under these ministries and not under the organs of state administration.

2. The second instance in teachers' disciplinary matters are the disciplinary appeals commissions at the appropriate ministries appointed to consider appeals from the decision of the disciplinary commission mentioned in paragraph 1.

1. The decisions of the appeals commissions are final.

3. An extraordinary appeal may be made from a legally valid decision to the disciplinary appeals commission referred to in paragraph 2 if the decision violates the rules of law. The composition of the disciplinary appeals commission excludes the persons who issued the decision that is being appealed. Only one extraordinary appeal in relation to this same teacher may be made on the basis of the same charges.

4. An extraordinary appeal may be made by the appropriate minister or chief organ of the trade union in which teachers are associated. An extraordinary appeal of detriment to the teacher cannot be filed later than 6 months after the date that the ruling was issued.

Article 78.

Disciplinary commissions are independent in the area of disciplinary decisions.

Article 79.

1. The organ of state administration at which the disciplinary commission was appointed will designate for each disciplinary commission a disciplinary ombudsman and an appropriate number of assistants from among the workers under him.
2. The disciplinary ombudsman is bound by the recommendations of the organ which appointed him to this function.

Article 80.

1. Disciplinary proceedings are initiated by the disciplinary commission at the motion of the disciplinary ombudsman.
2. Disciplinary commissions issue decisions after conducting an investigation and after hearing the opinions of the disciplinary ombudsman and the accused or his defender.

Article 81.

1. A disciplinary proceeding cannot be initiated later than 3 months from the date of obtaining, by the appropriate organs of state administration at which the disciplinary commission was appointed, the information on the commission of the act warranting punishment, and no later than 3 years after this act was committed. If, however, the act constitutes a crime, this period may not be shorter than the period of the statute of limitations for prosecution of that crime.
2. Termination of a work relationship after commission of the act is not an obstacle of initiating and conducting a disciplinary procedure and administering punishment.

Article 82.

1. The punishments provided in article 76, paragraph 1, points 1-3, will be expunged and the written decision on punishment that has been placed in the teacher's personnel file will be destroyed after a lapse of 3 years from the time a valid ruling on punishment has been delivered, if during this period he was not punished by disciplinary action or by a court.
2. The duty of executing the provisions of paragraph 1 rests with the organ at which a disciplinary commission of the first instance is appointed.

Article 83.

1. The immediate school supervisory organ may suspend from his duties the teacher against whom penal proceedings were instituted or the proposal on initiating disciplinary proceedings was made, if in view of the seriousness and credibility of the charges, it is advisable to relieve him of the performance of duties in the school. In matters that cannot be delayed, the teacher may be suspended at the time the motion to initiate disciplinary proceedings is made.

2. The teacher is, by virtue of law, suspended from the performance of his duties if he is held for investigation or if he is jailed in connection with a penal proceeding.

3. Suspension from duties cannot be for more than 6 months unless an investigative proceeding is still pending against the teacher in connection with which the suspension occurred.

Article 84.

1. The teacher's base pay may be reduced during the period of suspension from the performance of his duties, and the base pay of the teacher held for investigation may be reduced by no more than one-half, depending on the teacher's family status, beginning with the first day of the calendar month following the month in which the suspension occurred.

2. During the period of suspension from performance of duties, there is no entitlement to allowances or overtime pay.

3. A teacher is not entitled to pay while in jail.

4. The provisions of paragraph 1-3 and article 83, paragraph 2, apply also to teacher employed on the basis of a labor contract.

5. If the disciplinary or penal proceeding ends with dismissal for lack of proof of guilt or with the issuance of a decision or a verdict of innocence, the teacher should be returned the sums of remuneration that had been withheld.

Article 85.

The Council of Ministers, by means of orders, defines the composition and propriety of the disciplinary commissions for teachers, the rules and procedures by which they are appointed, the composition of the adjudicators, the appointment of disciplinary ombudsmen and defenders, the procedures of disciplinary proceedings, and the execution of disciplinary punishments and their expungement.

Chapter 11. Retirement Entitlements

Article 86.

Teachers and members of their families are entitled to retirement benefits as described in the regulations on general retirement benefits of workers and their families, taking into consideration the provisions of this law, except that the teachers referred to in article 1, points 1-7, are included with workers of category 1 employment.

Article 86.

1. A teacher who is retiring is entitled to severance pay in an amount equivalent to 2 months of his last base pay in the school which is his basic workplace.

2. Early retirement may take place at the application of the teacher or on the basis of a certification by a medical commission that the teacher is unable to perform the duties of his profession.

3. The procedures and principles for issuing the certificate referred to in paragraph 2 are defined, by means of orders, by the Minister of Health and Social Welfare, in consultation with the Minister of Education and Upbringing.

Article 88.

1. Teachers with 30 years service, including 20 years of category 1 employment, and teachers of special classes, schools, centers and institutions, with 25 years of employment, including 20 years of category 1 employment in special education, may, upon termination of the work relationship at their own request, retire.

2. The amount of pension or annuity for a teacher employed in the education and upbringing system, retiring on a regular or disability pension, is established on general principles defined in laws on general retirement benefits for workers and their families, except that this base also includes remuneration for overtime hours, allowances, and services in kind, if the teacher does not use these services after he becomes a pensioner or annuitant, and all awards obtained by the teacher for professional achievement during the period on which the amount of his pension or annuity is based.

3. Entitlements defined in paragraph 1 accrue as of January 1, 1984.

Article 89.

1. A teacher entitled to a disability pension or annuity is entitled also to a supplement to his pension or annuity in the amount of 20 percent of these benefits if the person entitled to a pension performed teaching duties in a school at least 15 years, and the person entitled to an annuity, at least 5 years.

2. The provisions of paragraph 1 apply both to teachers who become pensioners or annuitants after the date that the law went into effect, as well as to those who became disability pensioners or annuitants before that date.

3. A supplement for teaching work is also added to disability pensions for on-the-job accidents and occupational diseases.

Article 90.

1. Teachers who conducted clandestine teaching during the occupation, are entitled to a supplement to their pensions or annuities amounting to 25 percent of these benefits if they are not now receiving such a supplement on some other basis.

2. The supplement referred to in paragraph 1 accrues also to teachers who, before September 1, 1939, taught in the Polish language in Polish schools on

Third German Teich territory or in the former Free City of Danzig, if they are not now receiving such a supplement on some other basis.

Article 91.

Teachers' pensions and annuities are subject to continuous recomputation as the remuneration of active teachers increases.

Chapter 12. Interim and Final Provisions

Article 92.

1. A separate law on national education defines:

- 1) the system of social educational organs at all levels of management and their competence,
- 2) the system and scope of activity of the self-governing body in education.

2. Superintendents and vice superintendents of education and upbringing are appointed and dismissed by the Minister of Education and Upbringing at the motion of the appropriate governor or major of a city of voivodship rank, submitted after prior coordination with the voivodship education commission (or voivodship-rank city education commission) of the people's council, and consultations with the trade unions in which teachers are associated.

3. Inspectors and deputy inspectors of education and upbringing are appointed and dismissed and the duties of gmina school principals and their assistants are assigned, at the motion of the local organ of state administration of basic rank, by the appropriate superintendent of education and upbringing.

Article 93.

Wherever coordination with trade unions is required in individual affairs of teachers, this is understood to mean the trade union of which the concerned teacher is a member, or if he is not a member of any union, the trade union with which teachers are associated, as indicated by him.

Article 94.

1. Teachers employed in schools or organs of state administration in positions requiring pedagogical qualifications on the day the law goes into effect, who obtained, on the basis of regulations now in effect, the academic and pedagogical qualifications necessary to teach or conduct upbringing activities in schools of a specific type and level, are assumed to have the qualifications necessary for the position of teacher or educator in these schools, even if they do not have the education specified in article 9, paragraph 1, point 1.

2. As regards the field of academic and pedagogical qualifications, the provisions of paragraph 1 apply correspondingly to graduates of teachers' studies who completed their education in these studies after the day the law went into effect.

Article 95.

The provisions of articles 30, 31, 33, 46-52, 55, 57-60, 62, 72, 73, 86-91 and 100 apply to appointed teachers who take jobs in organs of state administration or in political and social organizations and trade unions in positions that require pedagogical qualifications. These provisions also apply to teachers who took jobs in these organs or political and social organizations and trade unions in positions requiring pedagogical qualifications before the day the law went into effect.

Article 96.

1. Teachers appointed permanently on the basis of regulations previously in effect become appointed teachers within the meaning of the law.
2. Teachers employed on the day the law went into effect on the basis of an appointment until dismissal, become appointed teachers within the meaning of the law if they meet the conditions prescribed in article 10, paragraph 2.
3. Teachers who are employed on the day the law went into effect on the basis of an:
 - 1) appointment until dismissal and who do not meet the conditions prescribed in article 10, paragraph 2,
 - 2) appointment for a definite period,

become teachers employed on the basis of a labor contract within the meaning of the law.

Article 97.

The provisions of articles 52, 54-62, 71, 72, and 86-91 do not apply to teachers employed for less than half the required teaching workload.

Article 98.

1. In matters arising from the work relationship that are not regulated by the provisions of the law, pertaining both to appointed teachers as well as to those employed on the basis of a labor contract, the provisions of the Labor Code apply.
2. Disputes on claims arising from the teacher's work relationship, regardless of the form in which the work relationship was established, are investigated by appeals commissions for labor affairs and by labor courts.

Article 99.

Teachers who due to working conditions or qualifications are, based on special regulations, entitled to certain entitlements or branch benefits, continue to retain those entitlements or benefits that were obligatory on the day the law goes into effect.

Article 100.

Benefits to which teachers are entitled in accordance with the provisions of the law are applicable as of September 1, 1981, unless the law provides otherwise.

Article 101.

1. The law dated April 27, 1972, "Charter of the Teacher's Rights and Duties" (DZIENNIK USTAW, No 16, item 114; No 12, item 89, 1973; and No 11, item 43, 1977), as it pertains to teachers is invalid.

2. Until the executive orders provided for in this law are issued, but for no longer than until July 31, 1982, the regulations in effect up to the present time along with the changes arising from the law, are binding.

Article 102.

The law goes into effect on the day it is announced.

Chairman of the Council of Ministers:
H. Jablonski
Secretary of the Council of Ministers:
E. Duda

9295

CSO: 2600/343

'SLOWO POWSZECHNE' POSTURE OUTLINED IN FIRST EDITION UNDER MARTIAL LAW

WATKIN SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish No 1, 19--21 Feb 82 pp 1,2

/Article by Jozef Wojcik: "On Choosing a Posture"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface/

/Text/ /After an interruption consisting of more than two months, caused by the declaration of martial law, we are resuming publication of SLOWO POWSZECHNE--the PAX Association's daily newspaper. Deeply moved by the status of our Fatherland, we are thinking today with great benevolence, above all, about our Readers, to whom we will be addressing ourselves. We trust that the news of the renewal of work by our editorial staff will be received with joy./

At the same time we are also thinking gravely about our responsibilities to our Readers. Indeed, we are resuming publication of this newspaper under unusual circumstances, during a period of great national drama, confusion in views and evaluations, a dispersion of civic consciousness, and--just as often--a greatly differentiated understanding of patriotic obligations. However, the meaning of publishing written materials--in addition to the role of information--with which we would like to involve ourselves fairly--is also conducive to help in discerning and evaluating the reality which surrounds us, to proposing a posture in matters which are the subject of disputes, often in fundamental questions which affect our national and state everyday life, our present and our future. /We will not turn aside from taking up our own position. At the same time, we want to remain in genuine contact with our Readers; we want to know their views and opinions and to present them in our columns./

And it so happens, by chance, that several weeks have elapsed since the date marking the 35th anniversary of the existence of SLOWO POWSZECHNE, a publication whose destiny has been closely linked with the history of the PAX Association, a social movement of lay Catholics, whose founder and ideological moving force for many years was /Boleslaw Piasecki./ This is not the time to bow down to history. The most enlarged and most universal expectation, as we judge it, is the demand for constructive answers and to make moves toward the future. /Nevertheless, we do not wish to lose contact with historical experience, with the values which have already been worked out. We will likewise give due weight to the Polish school of patriotic thought, together with the ideological and programmatically represented principles running through our movement. Moreover, this is not simply a question of their continuation but also concerns the necessity of enriching them with new, contemporary contents./

Alongside of the attempts to work out socio-economic concepts, there is no more important question for our Polish community than the question of /the essence, the substance, and the direction of deepening in whatever way is necessary to develop Polish political thought in its connection with the moral problems of the nation./ This is a question of the future national life, the revival of the strength of the contemporary Polish state. What we need here is a creative approach and new, bold general ideas concerning the nature of developed socialism. The call for such a creative approach may seem to many people at the very least improper in a situation of general misfortune, disturbed by daily anxieties. /Nonetheless, we assert that everything must be done in order to make the causes of the national drama become such a "felix culpa," a point of departure for a new stage of development by the nation and the state./ For this reason, it is difficult to agree with the following view, which is often manifested: let's settle economic affairs first, there will be time for everything else later. No, it is equally important, all the more so since it affects conduct in the material sphere, to provide an answer to the following question: /what should the development in the trans-material sphere, the moral, cultural, and political fields, consist of?/.

It is worth while to be apprised of the fact that everything which has been going on in Poland for a long time now on the level of internal life bears the traits which are characteristic of a /turning-point between historical epochs./ We observe that, as it were, the end of a certain historical period is wearing out many of the truths and stereotypes of thinking which were valid up to that time. This period is ending in an all-encompassing crisis because, among other reasons, the need which has been felt for a long time for a development of the thought and practice of socialism which would correspond to our native experience--such a need has remained unsatisfied, and the call for such a development has remained without a response. The void has had to be filled by administrative-type methods of governing and by various kinds of pragmatic undertakings the efficacy of which is always of brief duration and illusory. Political opponents have profited from this weakness and social dissatisfaction.

Every turning-point between epochs is characterized by the fact that people no longer function according to nor are convinced by the former program fundamentals organizing collective life, but, at the same time, they do not yet participate sufficiently fully in the new ways because the latter have hardly yet emerged. This is always a difficult and perilous period for the life of the nation. And for those who are informed, for those political forces which are responsible for the course of events in the country, it is a time of particular responsibility.

/let us say openly that if we can find the courage to adopt new ideological generalities and new perspectives, which express the patriotic and humanistic needs of society--we will prove, in this manner, the strength and vitality of contemporary Poles. If not, then we can expect to enter upon a period of decadence./

It is clear that the problem, when posed in this way, is bound up with many threads and questions, to which we will be returning on various occasions. For we would like to be right together with all those who feel a similar need to search out paths to the future. Today we wish to dwell only on one topic, albeit a fundamental one. /This is the question of the place of lay Catholics in public life, in the life of the country./ The problem is felt universally. It has

been highlighted by the utterances of General /Wojciech Jaruzelski./ Moreover, it has been noted for some time now by certain Marxist theoreticians. Unfortunately, it has remained undeveloped by them.

/Within the program assumptions of the PAX movement this problem has been treated in a multi-faceted and profound manner, from viewpoints which are allied to those of the party./ In my opinion, it was not necessary to begin from the beginning, to push open doors which were already open. It is a question of /partners, theoreticians, and intellectuals/ wanting, within the framework of a dialogue, to present their own profound viewpoints, which would avoid the declarative slogans, prevalent up to now, about the need for common work or a common, popular front.

/In our opinion, it is high time to remove the world-outlook barrier in the development of socialist democracy./ Efforts to implement a democratic world outlook in Poland already have an extensive history of their own. As a result of this, Catholics as well as Marxists may feel weary today of the mutually experienced difficulties and errors committed by both sides, which are often taken advantage of demagogically against the cause itself. Experience has shown that putting forth the postulate of a democratic world outlook--as a condition for the development of socialist democracy in general--runs the risk of incurring a conservative force of some other authority, mainly one of a cosmopolitan tinge. We must, at last, overcome this conservatism.

In our country a rejection of the concept of socialist democracy, as well as of the postulate which talks about the subjective participation of society in the life of the country by citizens from world-outlook convictions, will always be a turning away from the reality of social needs. This is a problem of unusual importance, which cannot be evaluated merely by indifferent persons or opportunists. A fundamental level of humanism, human dignity, and the instrumentality of patriotic reasons create a perspective for its solution. Poles, irrespective of the differences which divide them, including differences of philosophical world outlook, live basically in an atmosphere of mutually shared fundamental ethical values which have been formed under the influence of Christianity. It is obvious that these ethical values have differing foundations. A Catholic recognizes both their temporal and spiritual sanctions, whereas a non-believer is subordinate only to the temporal sanction of morality. Nevertheless, the fact of a communality of ethnic feelings ought to favor a final solution in the spirit of a multiple world outlook.

/In posing the problem, we also confront lay Catholics with the simultaneous task of a three-fold engagement: the engagement of a Catholic world outlook, the Polish patriotic engagement, and the engagement directed at a developmental interpretation of Polish socialist reality./ What enter here into play, therefore, are the criteria of responsibility for the socialist state, for its place in the set-up of international relations, for the force of the general-national reasons for Poland's alliance with the Soviet Union.

Let us express these propositions within the specific situation. Manifesting itself in the social disposition is a phenomenon of passivity, expectation, defec-tionism, and, at times, an open tendency to psychic emigration. This state of affairs must undergo change. Everybody who asserts at this time that we should wait has not done a good job of evaluating the pros and cons in the experience of

Polish history. One of the regular principles of this history consists of brief outbreaks of enthusiasm, separated by long periods of relative passivity in public affairs. This enchanted circle must be broken up by means of equal efforts on the part of the state authorities as well as those of all responsibly thinking social circles. All too frequently the history of our nation has been carried on by designs which have not provided well-founded results or by results which have not moved Polish intentions forward. /Only a conscious collective effort can cut short such a tradition. This demands moral force and social energy. In this context we are proposing the problems of world outlook./ For the Catholic the extreme depth of the truths of faith, the incarnation and entrance of God into human history, into the life of Man, signifies the imparting of value to the entire secular reality; it also signifies the imparting of value to the time which he has at his disposal, time as an occasion for doing good, for carrying out manifold vocations and obligations, including obligations with regard to the nation in which he lives.

/Our Fatherland is in need. If that is so, then our obligations, flowing out of the inspiration of the Christian world outlook are great. We cannot wait, nor, all the more so, succumb to becoming bitter. This is a difficult truth, but it must be attained in its discovery within oneself./

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WEST GERMAN REPORT ON YUGOSLAV SECRET SERVICE IN FRG

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 27 Feb 82 p 5

[Article by Guenter Hannas: "Anger in Bonn over Belgrade's Secret Service; Rivalries, Drugs, and Murder on German Soil"]

[Text] Bonn, 26 February—The impression is justified that the Yugoslav secret service is not only looking for secrets in the Federal Republic, but it is also concerned with Yugoslav citizens no longer residing in their country. The service is obviously less interested in Yugoslav guest workers than those who for political reasons are not satisfied with conditions in Yugoslavia. Many of the latter belong to a specific Yugoslav nationality, especially to the Croats or Albanians. How far this interest of Belgrade's secret service extends, whether serious crimes are being committed in the process, is one of the questions that Bonn is attempting to clarify. In private, agitation and anger are great. Many people are certain that Yugoslavia's secret services have been behind a number of murders of past years, but evidence—in the legal sense—is difficult to obtain.

Those responsible for foreign policy may think of Yugoslavia's position in East-West and especially in North-South relations. One ought to be sympathetic from this point of view. Other people consider Yugoslavia's important assistance in combating the drug trade from the Near East to Central Europe; without being affected by such business herself, Yugoslavia is always available when it is needed to support German police against commerce in drugs. One would not like to endanger this cooperation. There are also those—especially SPD politicians—who have political and personal ties to Belgrade and would not wish to jeopardize them.

It is the opposition in Bonn that has for a long time wished to know more. One of its 1978 inquiries went unanswered; a recent inquiry was answered promptly. According to the information in 1970, 14 Yugoslav emigres were killed in 12 attacks in the Federal Republic, 4 more (bearing German passports) abroad. In three instances, says the attorney general, nine criminals were apprehended. In one case, sentence was passed down. Apart from this trial, four more similar cases are pending in German courts. The guilty parties seem to be known in two of them. Two proceedings are concerned with persons unknown. Of the 12 attacks in the Federal Republic, only five have been solved, are close to solution, or at least are worth the attempt.

Seven cases, on the other hand, have been dropped. Are they hopeless? Are we dealing with perpetrators who are known to be back in Belgrade? German police are successful in capturing murders in "normal" cases over 90 percent of the time, with the exception of the Yugoslavs. The Federal attorney general says in his answer that the people known to have committed the crimes or to have been accomplices are without exception Yugoslav citizens. Merely rivalry in the underworld? In no case was it possible to prove only private motives.

Maybe a statement by the minister of state in the foreign office, Mrs Hamm-Bruecher, would have been sufficient. Last October, when asked by CSU deputy Wittmann with what success the Federal foreign minister had protested during his visit to Yugoslavia "against the activities of the Yugoslav secret service on West German soil," she did not deny the existence of the problem. Rather, she stated, "condemning and fighting against terrorism" was a duty of the Federal Government, which discussed it everywhere that it seemed appropriate. "On 12 October 1981" Genscher "spoke" to Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vrhovec "among other things about matters of terrorism," said Mrs Hamm-Bruecher, pointing out the discretion necessary in such a case. Genscher's talks appear to course to have failed. At the beginning of this year, three ethnic Albanians--Yugoslav exiles--were murdered in Heilbronn. One of the three, who fought for the independence of Kosovo Province, is reported to have said before his death, "That was the UDBA" (Yugoslavia's secret service). Now many Yugoslav emigres bring the secret service into play when they wish to cover up their own shady business affairs. But there is considerable proof that this is not what happened to reporter Jusuf Gervalla.

It was this attack more than all the others that roused people in Bonn who had otherwise been reserved. No one is voicing conclusions; everyone is aware of the difficulties involved in proving the participation of Yugoslavia's secret service in each individual case. But the similarities between the crimes are great enough. This may help a resolution introduced by the CDU/CSU parliamentary group which says, "The German parliament can no longer tolerate officials of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia" continuously and gravely violating "the sovereignty of the Federal Republic of Germany through persons performing assignments for them"; the Federal Republic cannot endure Yugoslav officials "carrying out attacks, killing or threatening former citizens of their country who have found asylum in Germany." The resolution calls attention to Belgrade's unkept promises.

CRITICISM OF BISHOP'S BOYCOTT, VESELICA'S FUNERAL WREATH

Zagreb VJESNIK in Servo-Croatian 30 Jan 82 SEDAM DANA supplement p 17

[Article by Nenad Ivankovic "The Bishop's Leap Back to 1879"]

[Excerpts] On the occasion of the recent New Year's meetings with representatives of various religious communities, Jure Bilic, president of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, made a few statements. He said, among other things, "It is not God who separates us, but politics. And politics can, indeed, divide us... Of course, this in no way means that we want the church to be used as a system of order, as is sometimes suggested, but only that it relate properly to the basic values of this socio-political community.

"We also want every citizen, without regard to his faith and ideology, to be able to live in this society on a completely equal basis with all other citizens, and to be able to participate fully in the affairs of the community. This also means keeping in line with the policies put into effect during the People's Liberation War, when the party put together new social relationships from the efforts of all patriots in the struggle for liberation, regardless of national, religious, or ideological differences. And these New Year's meetings are to some extent a way of demonstrating good will and the desire that such policies continue, and that the problems and difficulties we encounter be resolved mutually, in keeping with this perspective."

In light of these statements, something else should be discussed, something which in the present state of affairs should not be suppressed. This year, for the first time, the Catholic bishops did not attend the receptions. This is all the more regretful because the majority of the bishops were "compelled" to stay at home in order to give, somewhat understandably, a show of solidarity with a few prelates (who most certainly did not want to come). But without regard to the circumstances (which to some extent are indicative of the situation in the upper levels of the Catholic Church in Croatia), the fact remains that this behavior is reminiscent of the manner in which the Irish tenantry acted to Mr. Boycott in 1879 (speaking only of the manner!).

Perhaps some people feel offended, and, if we may be so bold to say, in this way they flatter themselves. If this assumption is correct, one is completely justified in saying that it is the motives and interests of a few individuals

which are controlling the behavior of all the church structures, and it goes without saying that this is unacceptable from the point of view of the church, the community of believers, and society as a whole.

If, then, some prelates maintain that there is nothing to discuss with "this type of regime" and that there is no hope of mutually solving problems, then we hope we are justified in asking, what good is it in trying to understand the statement of our bishops cited above (not only from the political point of view, of course, but also the evangelic)?

Perhaps some church people fear contacts because, in their opinion, they might sometimes be misinterpreted by some people in the "newly created" conditions and circumstances. If this is so, we ask, should a pastor consider the interests and opinions of a few to the detriment of the overall good of the church? We ask this because we believe that it cannot be inconsequential for the church in our milieu (as well as elsewhere in the world) whether or not it lives in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and faith. And, of course, one of the jobs of the bishops is to help create these social conditions. At least, the Council thinks so.

So that we are not dealing only with suppositions, we should also bring up one factual matter. Everyone is familiar with the fact that, on the occasion of the death of Cardinal Franja Šeper, the coffin was placed in the middle of the Zagreb Cathedral. Right next to the catafalque, in a place of honor (not chosen by chance!), the organizers of the funeral ceremony placed the wreath of Marko Veselica, a man who is currently in jail because of his connections with the ustasha emigration. Everyone has the right to give a wreath, but every wreath does not turn up where the one from Veselica did! Should the meaning of this gesture be explained? Obviously it does not demonstrate good will to the social and political community.

But there is something even more appalling in this incident. The organizers of this ceremony are certainly not people who would not be able to figure out certain consequences of such an act, at least to some extent. And one consequence might be that someone will say (unfairly, of course, but possibly not without malice, or satisfaction, depending on who it is) that some sort of symbolic connection exists between the Catholic Church of Croatia and Veselica and what he stands for, although the statement may not be meant seriously. This type of notion would, of course, be dangerous for the church in many ways.

And should these church people, in the name of the church, be permitted to fool with its image? Shouldn't they be concerned that someone might attach some undesirable sect to the Gospel? And finally, should they be permitted to do this in spite of the disposition of the majority of their believers?

Someone might well ask, in the name of which Christianity is such a thing being done, and are we indeed talking about Christianity? If we are not, then we think it is obvious what is left.

Finally, we should say that we do not want someone to think that we are trying to involve the bishops in politics. We know very well that politics are

not a part of the church's concerns, and we respect this completely. But we also maintain that politics is not everything that the church sometimes tries to describe it as being. Recently one of our Adventist ministers made a pun about this. He said, "We church people always say that we do not want to be concerned with politics and that it is not our job to do so. But if it is our policy to love our country, our people, and if it is our policy to contribute to the development of our society, then we should concern ourselves with political policy."

We also would not want anyone to think we believe that everything is dependent upon the relationships of the higher-level representatives of the church and the representatives of the governmental structures, and that this is the only explanation of what is actually going on. Moreover, we think (and this is in keeping with the development of our society) that the church and the government must lose their intermediary mission, which they still have today, so that the religious rights and the position of believers in society is directly insured, and this means in a way which is autonomous. But today, conditions are still always such (both in society and especially in the church) that much of this depends on contact and understanding at "the summit."

Therefore, it is not inconsequential whether or not these contacts are maintained. This means being held responsible before the entire community (and we should also say before the generations to come) for every omitted, gambled away, or frustrated opportunity for dialogue and the chance for historic change, regardless of where it comes from. Not only is the solution of one or another problem dependent upon this, but we might also say that to some extent the future of life in our corner of the world is dependent upon it.

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